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TWO CENTURIES
OF
STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENTS

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OF
STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENTS

Their Origin and Intercollegiate Life

BY
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YALE UNIVERSITY DIVINITY SCHOOL

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THE GENERAL BOARD OF
THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

TO
GLADYS VAN MATER SHEDD

AND
DAVID RICHARD PORTER

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION
OF THE COMRADESHIP AND
THE UNFAILING CONFIDENCE
WHICH HAS MADE THE
WRITING OF THIS BOOK
A LABOR OF LOVE

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C. P. S.

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FOREWORD

TWENTY years ago the author presented at Clark University a Master of Arts essay entitled *The History of the North American Student Y.M.C.A.* He has frequently been urged, since then, to publish a history of the Student Y.M.C.A., but he has refrained because of a belief that this type of history would not answer the basic questions which are being asked today by those who are interested in religion and religious movements in higher education. There are those in American religious life who feel that organizations such as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and Student Volunteer Movement exist in our colleges because of their strong national organizations and their traveling secretaries. The studies begun by the author twenty years ago led to a conviction, which has steadily grown, that this is a false position. About five years ago the author began making discoveries of record books of old student religious societies, student diaries, and manuscript letters which showed that Christian Student Societies had a very vigorous local and intercollegiate life long before any of the now-existing organizations came into being.

The present book summarizes these studies. It pictures the origin and growth of the Christian Societies in the colonial colleges. It presents the local and intercollegiate characteristics of these societies in an attempt to discover those qualities of the Christian Student Societies' experience which seem most enduring and for that reason may have significance for the future. Obviously, a book like this cannot give the history of the fully fourteen hundred local Christian Student Societies associated with the Student Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and Student Volunteer Movement. A movement like the Student Christian Movement, with national and world-wide connections, has a corporate life—a soul which is distinct from and more than the sum total of all of the local societies. It is with this corporate-intercollegiate life and influence

that this book is primarily concerned. The most isolated and provincial Christian Student Society in American colleges today has its philosophy and methods of work influenced more than it can possibly know by the interests and quality of intercollegiate life and leadership of the present Student Christian Movements. This book therefore portrays the most creative moments and events in the intercollegiate and international life of the Student Christian Movement. It follows the voluntary Christian Student Society idea from its beginning until its corporate life expresses itself in a world-wide movement—the World's Student Christian Federation. Primarily, therefore, it is a history of the Student Christian Movement from 1700 to 1900. These studies in a somewhat different form were submitted in 1932 to the graduate Faculty of Yale University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The title of the dissertation which is available in the Sterling Memorial Library of Yale University is *Some Early Student Religious Societies and the Intercollegiate Beginnings of the Student Christian Movement*.

In a second volume, which the author has in preparation, the period from 1900 to 1934 will be dealt with intensively. But the urgency of the questions which in 1934 are confronting the Student Christian Movement in the United States prompts the author to submit, as a postscript to the present volume, a chapter which attempts to interpret in sketchy fashion the main developments and problems in the life of the National Student Y.M.C.A. in the period from 1915 to 1934.

The present would seem to be a timely moment for the appearance of this historical account of the first two hundred years of Student Christian Societies. The resignations within the past year of David R. Porter, who for twenty-seven years had served as Secretary of the National Student Y.M.C.A., and of Miss Leslie Blanchard, who for fifteen years had been the National Executive Secretary for the Student Y.W.C.A., puts upon both the men's and women's movements the obligation of thinking through, as they select a new leadership, the philosophy and relationships of the two movements. More important than the fact of resignations, however, is the temper of the present moment.

To thoughtful observers it is clear that the Student Christian Movement in its intercollegiate life is at a historical turning point which undoubtedly will prove to be as important for the future of Christian Student Societies as any of the four or five other great turning points in the two hundred years of its history.

Until twenty years ago it was possible to use the term Student Christian Movement and mean only the Student Y.M.C.A., Student Y.W.C.A., and the Student Volunteer Movement. Although the Church, through its local parishes, had always been at work with students, there was as yet no local or national work that in any way compared with these other organizations. During the past two decades that situation has changed completely and these older movements now find themselves part of a much wider university situation. In small colleges and in large universities there are now strong departments of religion and schools of religion which have a responsible connection with the voluntary religious life in the institution. In fully one hundred of the independent and state universities five of the larger denominations have developed a student program which, in the absence of any better term, is described as the University Pastor Movement. This work is jointly financed by local, state, and national church agencies. The denominations have employed able and interdenominationally-minded national secretaries to direct this work. There is a University Committee of the Council of Church Boards of Education through which plans are made for interdenominational work. Many of these denominational student groups are now as interdenominational in their spirit and methods of working as the Christian Associations. Quite a few are vitally connected, however, with the Field Councils and the National Council of Student Christian Associations—the policy-making body of the National Student Y.M.C.A. It would be fair to say that many of these newer Christian Student Societies have today most of the qualities which from early days have characterized the voluntary Christian Student Society. Also, in the colleges and universities are organized Christian student groups, or religious groups predominantly Christian in membership and character, which owe their origin to the growth in the last decade of the new admin-

istrative interest in religion. A number of colleges have established new offices for the leadership of the religious life of the institution. These go under various titles, such as Dean of Religion, Director of Religious Activities, and Advisor to Student Religious Organizations. The present problem of the Student Christian Movement is also very much influenced by the situation in the large universities, where with a number of different organizations, churches, Y.W.C.A's., Y.M.C.A's., and official groups, it is imperatively necessary to find some basis for united work and to develop among leaders, both undergraduates and professors, a sense of common cause. This need has led to united Christian or united religious work plans, such as those at the University of Pennsylvania, Cornell, University of California at Los Angeles, and the University of Iowa.

These organizational factors, the fundamental changes that have taken place in religion and education, and the radical changes in the philosophy and methods of the older Student Christian Movement, have been the occasion for the creation in 1934 of a national commission for consultation concerning the message and the structure of the Student Christian Movement. During the next two or three years—locally, in fields, and nationally—these problems will be studied and discussed. The increase in functional coöperation in the Middle West; the organizational changes in process in the Southwestern Region, the Middle Atlantic States, and New England; and the lively interest among educators in all parts of the country make it clear that a new corporate form for the intercollegiate movement is emerging even though its detailed nature is not yet evident.

These studies are offered in the hope that they may make a valuable contribution to this discussion. The future cannot be charted by the past, but we dare not attempt to forecast it without some intimate knowledge of the past. The author takes the liberty in this Foreword of putting in summarized form what he thinks have been some of the characteristics of Christian Student Society experience as it has expressed itself in the life of American colleges and universities. He wishes to root this observation in the two hundred years of such experience rather than in the

relatively recent Society history associated with the present Student Christian Movement. These characteristics can be given only in outline form, but details will appear in the subsequent chapters.

1. Christian Student Societies are indigenous to the religious and educational life of American colleges. They are neither a "flash in the pan" nor something "outside" the life of these institutions. The history of these societies indicate that, if we were to wipe out entirely the present local and national Christian Student Society organization, an organization of the same general characteristics would in a short time reappear, possibly under a different name. Christian Student Societies existed in the earliest colonial colleges. As the frontier moved westward, societies were formed within a year or two of the founding of new colleges. Although the names of these societies and their relationships have changed at different periods, the Christian Student Society history has been practically unbroken. The present Christian Associations are in direct line of descent from these older societies.

2. One of the most outstanding characteristics of the Christian Student Societies has been the urge for the widest possible intercollegiate fellowship. Intercollegiate organization is relatively recent (1877), yet the feeling of students and professors who were members of these societies that they must carry on their work with a sense of partnership with similar societies in other colleges, dates back at least to the first decade of the nineteenth century. This book will give evidence of the network of correspondence and intervisitation among the societies.

3. The societies always have been interdenominational in outlook and composition. In the university educational and religious situation are certain factors that make this inevitable. A recent study made by the author of the denominational university pastorate in state universities offers an interesting verification of this fact. This church student work, which in the first decade of the twentieth century had its beginnings as a denominational enterprise, has steadily become more interdenominational in spirit and method. During the past ten years the denominations engaged in this work have devoted as much of their money and time to projects interdenominational in character as they have given to

work under the denominational label. The word interdenominational is not quite strong enough to describe the present practice of the Student Y.M.C.A.'s. and Y.W.C.A.'s. with their wider connections as members of the World's Student Christian Federation. This Federation, an œcumenic body, has drawn together in a world movement members of all of the Christian confessions—Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Russian Orthodox. Although in its history the student Y.M.C.A.'s. and Y.W.C.A.'s. have been predominantly Protestant in character, they have always included members from the other major Christian communions. It is of interest to find much of this same œcumenic spirit in some of the letters which were exchanged by members of the Christian Student Societies in the early years of the nineteenth century.

4. It has always been possible to discern certain main strands of emphasis in the work of the Student Christian Societies. Some of the earliest societies, particularly those associated with Cotton Mather, were purely devotional in character; they aimed at the cultivation of the personal religious life and the giving of mutual comfort and strength in the task of being Christian. Many of the very early societies took the name "Theological" or "Society of Inquiry," suggesting their interest in academic discussion or debate on the problems of religion. In the first years of the nineteenth century, the missionary note became a dominant one and fully three-quarters of the societies preceding the first Student Y.M.C.A. came to be called Societies of Missionary Inquiry. With the organization of the Student Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, there was added the emphasis of transforming campus life and relating students to the urgent problems of community, national, and world life. The Christian Associations have tended to combine in one society all of these major strands of Christian Student Society interest and experience.

5. From the beginning, the Christian Student Society has sought to express its life internationally. The two major outlets have been the foreign missionary movement of the church and the development of a sense of fellowship and solidarity with Christian students in the universities of other parts of the world.

The evidence is clear that this effort to achieve international unity was a real factor in the life of the society long before it expressed itself in a corporate way through the organization of the World's Student Christian Federation. Since the War the third outlet for this international interest has asserted itself, namely, that of giving students a responsible connection with the urgent world issues which affect the peace of the world and imperil the values of the Christian faith.

6. Although in all periods of the two hundred years of history many local societies gave the impression of being quite as conservative as the organizations of their elders, yet the *impression made by the corporate life of these societies* is that of having a clear sense of the ethical issues which Christians of the day must face if their evangelism was to have any relevance to the real needs of people. The record books of the Christian Student Society during the decade of the thirties and forties, and inter-society correspondence, show how much stirred these societies were by issues like temperance and slavery. They also express the student impatience with pure academic discussion and reveal attempts to formulate a program of action of their own. In spite of the many radical changes which today are taking place in the life of the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and the fact that many local Associations are quite unaware of contemporary issues, the corporate impression made by these movements is one of radicalism on issues such as race, war, and the social order. This is a true carrying forward of the Christian Student Society tradition.

7. The Student Christian Movement has always been and now is basically a movement in which the fundamental decisions are made by students, undergraduate and graduate. It is not, however, a correct historical picture to assume that this means that mature leadership plays no part in the life of the movement. In every college and at every point in its life, professors, ministers, secretaries, chaplains have had a very large part in determining directions. However, where the movement has been true to its essential genius, these mature leaders have been of the kind who could share their experience and insights with students and

still let final decisions be made by students under student leadership. The older Student Societies in Harvard would have been less significant than they were but for the leadership of Cotton Mather. The tremendous activity of the Andover Society of Inquiry (1810-1830) is better understood when one realizes that these students had the intimate comradeship and help of a contagious Christian leader like Professor Moses Stuart. The first Student Y.M.C.A. at the University of Virginia would certainly not have come when it did, nor have been so strong organizationally as it was, but for the leadership given by the university chaplain, the Reverend Dabney Carr Harrison. An accurate historical picture for a Student Christian Movement is one which involves intimate comradeship between the student and mature leaders, together seeking to find the truth and to carry out its implications in personal, campus, and world life.

8. With the development of higher education for women, women students became associated with the Christian Student Society experience. Undoubtedly women were members of the Society of Inquiry of the older coeducational colleges. During the first five years of the intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. movement, women were members and officers in the Student Y.M.C.A.'s in coeducational colleges. There is however an independent history of Voluntary Christian Student Societies for young women which antedates the organization of the first Student Y.W.C.A. In higher education today there is an evolution which irresistibly is tending toward a united movement for men and women. In the more important phases of their national life the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. since 1920 have been acting much as though they were a united men's and women's movement. However, paradoxically, there is another development which affects the Student Y.W.C.A. and which works in exactly the opposite direction, namely, the identification of women students through the Y.W.C.A. with women's causes in national and world life and the necessity involved for maintaining some degree of separateness. If a new Student Christian Movement of men and women is formed in American life, it will need to have the kind of organization which exemplifies real equality, makes room for

unity with the men in religious interest and of activity, and which yet retains the identification of women students with women's causes through organizations like the general Y.W.C.A.

9. Among Christian student societies, loyalty to the college with its local and intercollegiate interests and devotion to the essentials of the Christian message vitally related to contemporary life control the character and relationships of the organization more than any other loyalties present or historical. In the last analysis all other general connections and loyalties are secondary to these. The desire of both white and Negro students that the Negro Student Movement should be an integral part of a general Student Christian Movement rather than a section of the Colored Men's Department of the Y.M.C.A. is a case in point. Equally significant is the evolution of denominational student work. Beginning as a movement to relate students to the life of a normal local church, today much of the best church student work, although carried on in the name of the church, is quite separate from the local churches.

10. In a country as large as the United States, with Christian Associations in seven to eight hundred colleges, universities, theological schools, other professional schools, junior colleges, and preparatory schools, there is no possibility of developing a National Student Christian Movement that has the simplicity of the societies of the first decade of the nineteenth century, when there were only a few colleges confined in a small territory. Some form of corporate organization is imperative if the values of the older tradition are to be carried forward in the life of our day. The form of organization will need to be catholic in the sense of drawing into a single movement a wide range of theological and social thinking; it will need to be prophetic because of an organizational set-up which puts the control of its policies into the hands of the most intelligent Christian students and professors in its membership. Here much can be learned from the development of democratic methods of control in the life of the Student Movement as expressed through Field Councils and the National Council of Student Christian Associations, the National Student Council of the Y.W.C.A. and the General Council of the Student

Volunteer Movement. It is a striking fact that both the Student Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have distinguished themselves as pioneering movements in the field of the social and international implications of religion, since the control of their intercollegiate life became democratic in its basis. What is needed is a better corporate life for a Student Christian Movement rooted in the educational and religious life of the universities and in the eternal verities of the Christian message as they relate themselves to the pressing issues of contemporary life. With such a Student Christian Movement it will not be difficult to work out a continuing relationship to wide general movements and thus preserve the values of these connections.

C. P. S.

July 15, 1934.

CHAPTER I

STUDENT RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES—1700-1750

IN all ages the great creative religious ideas have been the achievement of the intellectual and spiritual insight of young men. This is evidenced by such names as Jesus, St. Francis of Assisi, Savonarola, Loyola, Huss, Luther, Erasmus, Wesley, and Mott. In literature, the arts, the sciences, many of the most revolutionary ideas have been worked out by young men under thirty and frequently by youths between eighteen and twenty-five.

In the realm of moral and religious achievement mankind's progress depends quite as much on the prophetic insight and heroic adventures of the youth groups centering about great leaders as on the leaders themselves. Great causes are first incarnated by prophetic individuals and then shared by creative groups if they are vitally to affect humanity's upward march. Little companies of like-minded youth both widely spread and perfect their leader's messages. Christianity would be unthinkable but for the twelve who left all to follow Him, thus catching Jesus' spirit and spreading it in the face of devastating persecution throughout the world. Since Jesus' time numberless bands of Christian youth have "turned the world upside down" and thus led mankind forward in its struggle for freedom and deeper religious experience. The universities have always been breeding places for such groups. Sometimes these groups have been by-products of the teaching of the university. Quite as frequently, however, they have been revolts against the restrictions on religious freedom and adventure that the university, along with the rest of society, placed upon youth.

The earliest references to student religious societies in American colonial colleges are to be found in the writings of Cotton Mather. Mather in a funeral sermon preached on the death of a

young schoolmaster, Recompense Wadsworth, said that when Wadsworth "had been in college two years (1706) he made a covenant with God" and that "some of the students formed a society which, laying to the heart the general decay of serious piety, in the professors of it, resolved upon essays to speak to one another and in sweetest methods of brotherly love, watch over one another or carry on some suitable exercises of devotion together wherein might they prove blessings not only to one another but unto many more unto whom they might be concerned for."¹ Ten years later, in April, 1716, Cotton Mather made the following record in his diary, "G. D. A. Society of pious and praying youths at the Colledge, I will study which way I may be useful to."² A few months after this he wrote, "Is there nothing to be done for the miserable Colledge? Yes: I will commend some things unto the perusal of the more serious youths associated for Piety there."³ Of the character of these two societies or their influence in Harvard we know nothing more than is contained in these brief references.

Mather's description of the purposes and activities of the society formed in 1706 by students under the leadership of Recompense Wadsworth follows closely the plan of the young men's societies which, under Mather's leadership, were spreading through the Massachusetts churches. One suspects, but cannot prove, that these student societies, with Mather's encouragement, were part of this general young men's society movement. It will pay, therefore, to look briefly at these "Mather" societies.

Marvin, in his life of Cotton Mather, suggests that Mather's prodigious activity in the formation and encouragement of societies of young men makes him a forerunner of the early founders of the Young Men's Christian Association. Mather had been afflicted by a serious impediment of speech, and the opportunity that these young men's societies gave him for self-expression ap-

¹ Cotton Mather, *Golgotha, A Lively Description of Death* (1713), p. 42, M. H. S. Also Abijah Marvin, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather*, p. 389, and *Diary of Cotton Mather*, Part 2, pp. 217 n., 222, 232 n., 347, and 377.

² *Diary of Cotton Mather*, Part 2, p. 347.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

parently did much to help him overcome this difficulty. He says that when he was sixteen he "had great benefit from a society of young men who met every evening after the Lord's Day for the services of religion." In these meetings he took his first "rise in the art of speaking and praying."⁴ To his son, Samuel, he wrote, "I was brought in ye society of Religious Young Men and then my opportunity to do good among our young men grew upon my hands."⁵ In this society "we constantly prayed both before and after the repetition of a sermon and sang a psalm taking our turns in such devotions. We then had a devout question proposed a week before, whereto anyone present gave whatever answer he pleased; and I still concluded the answer."⁶

"It was usual (1694)," he said, "in several towns of the country for the pious young men to associate themselves in pious meetings."⁷ These societies met "every evening *after ye Lord's day* for ye services of religion."⁸ Because the Sabbath began with sundown Saturday and ended with sundown Sunday, there was a tendency on the part of young people to give themselves over to frolic and merry parties on Sunday evenings. The objects of these societies were to "reclaim the Sabbath evening," show young men "how the Lord's day *and evening* may be spent religiously and advantageously," and give them "persuasives" for doing it.⁹

The Rev. Samuel Danforth of Taunton, writing in 1704, said: "And the young men, instead of their merry meetings, are now forming themselves into regular meetings for prayer, a repetition of sermons, finding the same order which I obtained some years ago a copy of, from the *Young Men's Meetings at the North of Boston*."¹⁰

⁴ Samuel Mather, *Life of Cotton Mather*, p. 7. See also pp. 23 and 40-41.

⁵ Cotton Mather, *Paterna* (Skinner ms, Chicago), p. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Cotton Mather, *Early Religion*, p. 115 (A. A. S.). See A. P. Marvin, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather*, p. 158.

⁸ Cotton Mather, *Paterna* (ms), p. 7.

⁹ Cotton Mather, *Directions How the Lord's Day Evening May Be Spent Religiously and Advantageously*. See also *Diary*, Part II, p. 370.

¹⁰ Samuel Hopkins Emery, *The Ministry of Taunton*, vol. I, p. 257.

Four years previous to his accepting the pastorate of North Church, Mather had made one of his first public discourses on the subject "Religious Societies; Proposals for the Revival of Dying Religion by Well Ordered Societies for that Purpose; with a Brief Discourse unto a Religious Society on the First Day of their Meeting."¹¹

A little later he wrote: "Oh, how much may Christians, *associated in religious combinations* do by watchful and faithful admonitions to prevent being partakers in other men's sins. The man that shall produce and promote such societies will do an unknown deal of good in the neighborhood. And so will he, that shall help forward *another sort of societies namely those of young men associated.*"¹²

These societies spread through most of the parishes of Massachusetts. The society in Dorchester, Massachusetts, had a continuous existence for more than a hundred and fifty years. Mather regarded these societies as "incomparable nurseries unto the church."¹³ The earliest constitution of these societies (1693) involved a covenant to "give ourselves unto God in Christ" and to "associate ourselves . . . for our assistance in the designs of early religion as well as for the prevention of the snares which young people frequently find in evil company."¹⁴ The meetings

¹¹ Published in 1724. Of it, Mather says, "Sermon in it is one that I entertained my neighbors withal before I was a public preacher when I was but 16 years of age." A. P. Marvin, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather*, p. 12.

¹² Cotton Mather, *Essays to do Good*, p. 131.

¹³ The most thorough work on these young men's societies is found in manuscript material gathered by the late J. T. Bowne, Librarian, International Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass., to whom the writer is indebted for initial introduction to most of the Mather Society material contained in this chapter. See Bibliography for Bowne manuscripts and published articles. For accounts of Dorchester Society, see *A Discourse Addressed to the Religious Society of Young Men in Dorchester* (1790) and *History of Dorchester, Mass.* For accounts of societies in Taunton, Northampton, and Wrentham, Mass., see *The Christian History* (magazine, 1743), pp. 108, 116, and 241. Other accounts are in Abijah P. Marvin's *History of Town of Lancaster*, pp. 277-282; Samuel T. Worcester's *History of Hollis, N. H.*, pp. 242-244; and Rev. Otis Carey's (Bridgewater, Mass., Society), *Golden Rule*, Jan. 31, 1895.

¹⁴ Cotton Mather, *Early Religion* (1694), p. 115.

were to be "two hours from seven to nine" and were to include "praying together by turns . . . and a sermon repeated, whereto the singing of a psalm shall be annexed."¹⁵ Members of these societies were to be "charitably watchful over one another," not to "unkindly divulge one another's infirmities, but yet lovingly inform . . . of a fault."¹⁶ A member falling into "any scandalous iniquity was to be admonished of his evil—then suspended from coming among us . . . nor shall he be again received without credible expressions and evidences of repentance."¹⁷ "Once in three months," the society was to have "a collection, out of which the necessary charges of our lights, fires, and entertainments are to be defrayed, and the rest shall be scattered among the poor of our neighborhood, according to agreement."¹⁸ "Once in two months a whole evening" was given "unto supplications for the rising generation in our land, and more particularly, for the success of the gospel among the young in that congregation whereto we do ourselves belong."¹⁹

Such was the character of the young men's societies associated with the churches. It is a reasonable assumption that the student societies of 1706 and 1716 were similar. It is likely that Mather had something to do with the organization of these societies at Harvard. At any rate when the college, from Mather's viewpoint, seemed to be in a hopeless moral and religious condition, Mather found hope for religion in these student societies. Possibly the society of 1716 was a continuation of that of 1706. There is much in the later history of student religious societies to make this a reasonable assumption. Whether continuous or annually organized, it is probable that during the period of Cotton Mather's lifetime there was always some student religious society at Harvard.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117. For a comparison of printed rules see Bowne Manuscript, International Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass. This comparison is based on *Early Religion* (1694), *Private Meetings Animated and Regulated, Essays to do Good* (1710), and *Proposals for the Revival of a Dying Religion*.

The earliest extant manuscript of a student religious society in an American colonial college is dated January 10, 1723, and describes "the Private Meeting, Instituted at Harvard College, 1719."²⁰ Its articles make clear its distinctly religious character. Presumably the articles of association are those adopted in 1719, although the statement may represent that exercise in constitutional revision which was a major activity for some societies. The members whose names are signed to the statement were students in Harvard when this statement was written. Of the twenty-six students signing these articles, seven were members of the class of 1724, seven from 1725, five from 1726, four from 1727, and two from 1728.²¹ (Fifteen of this group became clergymen.) The writer has been unable to find any other contemporary reference to this society in student diaries or college records.

The following is the exact wording of the document:

Cambridge, January y^e 10—(A)nno Dom: 1723

The articles which all that belong to the Private Meeting, Instituted at Harvard College, 1719, assent unto.

It being our indispensable Duty as well as undeniable Interest, to Improve All Opportunities and advantages, that God is graciously favouring us with, to His Honour and Glory, and our eternal welfare; as also to avoid all those Temptations and allurements to Evil, which we are in Danger to meet with; And to Edifie, Encourage, and Excite one another in the ways of Holiness, and Religion: we to that End, assent to the following articles, viz:

1 That we will meet together for the worship of God twice in a week; viz on Saturday and Sabbath-Day Evenings.

2 Being met together, we shall as God Enables us, perform the several injunctions Of our Meeting, the first (as to his station in

²⁰ This manuscript is in the Harvard University Library. It was exhibited by William C. Lane to the Colonial Society of Mass. on December 22, 1921. The writer's work was done and conclusions made on this and two succeeding Harvard Society references in this chapter on the basis of the study of the original manuscripts. It was not until this had been done that he learned of the report of these manuscripts to the Colonial Society of Mass. For the report of the 1719 manuscript, see *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Mass.*, 1920-22, vol. 24, pp. 309-312.

²¹ *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Mass.*, 1920-22, vol. 24, p. 312.

College) beginning, and so Proceeding to the last, except any one, for good reasons, shall Desire to be Excus'd.

3 That we will bear with one anothers Infirmities, and that we will Divulge Nothing of what nature soever; that is done at our meetings.

4 When we are absent from our meetings, we will Endeavour to behave Ourselves so that none may have occasion to speak Evil of us.

5 That all manner of Disagreing, strifes, or Quarrellings, with one another Shall be suppress'd by us, and that we will live in Love, Peace, and Unity, with One another.

That if any one sees or hears another speak, or Do anything unbecoming (a) Member of such a society, he shall reprove him as far as he shall think (the) Reproof worthy; but he shall do it with all meekness, Love and Tender(ness) Towards him.

N: B: all marked thus (*) Joined to the Meeting since I did

Gilman	Hunting	Pynchon	* Church	* Belcher
Baulch	* Smith	Lord	* Bruer	* Bradstreet ²²
Cabot S ^r	Smith	* Jewet	* Vaughan	
Bowman	Cutter	Prentice	* Parker	
Tufts	Williams		* Wood	
Hall	Warren			
Lewis	* Webb			
Allis				

The objectives of this society, as stated in the Preamble, seem to be like those of the Mather Societies. The members meet twice a week (Saturday and Sabbath-day evening) for the worship of God; they perform certain stated religious exercises (injunctions) —taking turns in the leadership of these exercises according “to his station (social rank) in College.” These injunctions are quite obviously understood by members, or more probably contained in some detailed constitution of the society not now in existence. They were to watch over one another, reproving “with all meekness, Love, and Tender(ness).” The secrecy enjoined on members should be noted (Article III) as this is characteristic of all the earliest student religious societies. It is evident that this “Pri-

²² *Private Meeting 1719* (Harvard ms).

vate Meeting" instituted in 1719 existed for at least four years (1719-1723)—one student generation—and perhaps much longer.

In 1914 Dr. J. T. Bowne, Librarian of the International Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, called the writer's attention to evidence of a student religious society at Harvard in 1721, appearing in a sermon printed that year. The title page reads:

A SERMON PREACHED IN THE COLLEGE AT CAMBRIDGE, N. E.
 To a Society of Young Students.
 From I Cor. II. 2.
 By Thomas Robie, A.M.
 One of the Fellows of the said College
 Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, MDCCXXI.

The dedication is

To the
Honourable & Reverend
 JOHN LEVERETT,
 President of
Harvard-College in Cambridge

One of Mr. Robie's reasons for publishing this sermon was

"Because it was last Preached to a Society of Young Students, who meet on the Lord's-Day-Evenings for Religious Exercises, in the College, over which You Præside. . . . And I hope and think I have done it in a Way that is pleasing and acceptable to Christ Himself, and so that He will bless it, by causing it to have a suitable influence on our Young Students, who are designed for the Gospel-Ministry.

"It's needless to say any thing as to my Preaching it again, and now Printing it, after it has laid in silence in my Study for some Years; Only, that being for some time desired by the aforesaid Society to Preach to 'em, and having lost a Sermon I designed 'em, I could not find among my Sermons One that I thought more proper than this, and I thought so the rather because several of them were my Pupils, and designed for the Ministry, whose Good I was tender of, and tho't my self obliged to advance as much as I was able, which if the Publishing this Sermon will be any way instrumental of, I shall adore the Divine Provi-

dence for directing me thereto, and particularly the Great Head and King of the Church the Lord JESUS CHRIST.”²³

This dedication makes it clear that the sermon was not written for the society and reading the sermon gives no information about the society. It seems highly probable that this society of young students to which Mr. Robie preached was the Private Meeting organized in 1719.

It is a significant coincidence that the most complete manuscript record of an early student religious society in this same period is dated October, 1722—one year after the Robie sermon and within the known life of the Private Meeting, organized 1719. This is the most valuable manuscript of the three because it really is a report of fifteen months’ activity of the society.²⁴ It is found in a curious leather-covered blank book measuring six by three and three-quarters inches and is in the close and somewhat difficult handwriting of Ebenezer Turrell, of the Harvard Class of 1721. The notebook was a student periodical circulated in manuscript at weekly or semi-weekly intervals and was modeled after Addison’s *Spectator*. Its title page contains the following:

Some account of a Paper call’d the Telltale
begun in Colledge Sep^t 1721 By &c

This paper was Entitl’d the

TELLTALE

or

Criticisms on the Conversation & Beheaviour
of Schollars to promote right reasoning &
good manner.

No. 1. Saturday Sep^t 9th 1721²⁵

²³ Printed copies of this sermon are to be found in the Prince Collection, Boston Public Library and the American Antiquarian Society. This was exhibited to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts by Mr. Albert Matthews on January 27, 1921. For full report see their transactions, 1920-22, vol. 24, pp. 156-159.

²⁴ Exhibited by William C. Lane to the Colonial Society of Mass., January 28, 1909. See their *Transactions*, Vol. 12, pp. 220-231.

²⁵ *The Telltale*, an undergraduate paper of 1721 (Harvard ms.).

Beginning at one end of the book there are thirteen successive issues, the dates ranging from Saturday, September 9, 1721, to Wednesday, November 1, 1721. Starting from the other end of the volume, the first fourteen pages are taken up with an argumentative dialogue concerning inoculation. Boston and vicinity were at that time experiencing a frightful smallpox epidemic. The records in Cotton Mather's *Diary* for May, June, and July, 1721, are full of reports of the fears concerning, and ravages of, this scourge. The advocacy of inoculations, both by laymen and doctors, had to be done in the face of great prejudice. Turrell, the author of *The Telltale*, is known in his later ministry (Medford, Massachusetts) to have been an ardent advocate of inoculation.²⁶ His thirteen pages in *The Telltale* which discuss inoculation end with the following:

"Compos'd about three weeks before I was inoculated.

"Theres none but Cowards fear y^e Launce,
 Heroes receive y^e Wound
 With rapturous joy they Skip & Dance,
 While others hugg y^e Ground."²⁷

Following this "Dialogue on Inoculation" comes "An account of a Society in Har: Colledge," organized in October, 1722. This record covers seven closely written pages and is given here in full:

After several Essays to bring Something on foot y^t might as well profit as Divert, We att lenght so far agreed in October,

²⁶ *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Mass.*, vol. 12, p. 227. William C. Lane quotes from the Medford, Massachusetts, Church Records, April 26, 1730: "Mr. Turrell preached a sensible and timely discourse in favor of inoculation for the small-pox."

²⁷ *The Telltale*, an undergraduate paper of 1721 (Harvard ms).

Cotton Mather in his *Diary*, under date of May 28, 1721, says: "The Entrance of the Small-Pox into the Town must awaken in me several Tempers & Actions of Piety relating to myself, besides a Variety of Duty to the People. . . . Thirdly, my own Life is likely to be extremely in danger by the horrid Venom of the sick Chambers, which I must look to be call'd into, and I would accordingly Redeem the Time to do what my hand finds to do." Again under date of July 23, 1721, he says, "G. D. I write a Letter unto the Physicians entreating them, to take into consideration the important Affair of preventing the Small-Pox, in the way of Inoculation."

1722, as to draw up a Scheme of Proposals, the Summ of w^{ch} we will now present you withall.

1. That att certain Times as the Majority of the Subscribers present shall agree we will convene.

2. We will agree to whatsoever y^e Majority of the Subscribers shall vote.

3. That a Moderator shall be chosen once a month to regulate the affairs of the Society.

4. That a Discourse of about Twenty minuits be made att every Meeting by one of the Society on any Subject he pleaseth.

5. That any Difficulty may be propos'd to the Company & when propos'd, the company shall Deliver their Thots upon It.

6. That there be a Disputation on Two or more questions att every Meeting, one part of the Company holding the Affirmative, the other the Negative part of y^e Question.

7. That whatsoever any of us shall meet with in our readings & Contemplations on any Subject that he can fairly think will be for the advancement of the Society, he shall communicate.

8. That we will be often Writing Epistles to the Society for the advancing Learning & the Methods of Pursuing it.

9. That if we see or hear of any Extraordinary Book, we will give y^e best account we can of it to y^e Society.

10. That the Moderator, upon resigning his office, shall make a speech to the Society concerning that office.

The Subscribers assented to the forgoing articles

N Rogers.

C Chauncey.

E Pemberton.

E Turell.

S Marshall.

J Taylor

Oliver Peabody.

John Lowell

Isaac Greenwood

N Hunting

S White

N Leonard

J Davenport

F Jerald

} These Gentlemen since
the erection. The 1st in
N^r 1722. The next 2 in
y^e Spring. The next 2 in
Sep^r 1723. The last Oct^r
1723.

These articles have been comply'd with, & in a great measure answer'd the Intention of them.

To prove w^{ch} we need only give you a brief Summary of our Records.

N R has read us 3 Lectures

- 1 Upon the Pleasures of Piety
- 2 Upon Virtue naturally leading to our happiness
Upon Justification

E P has read us 3 Lectures

- 1 On a Future State
- 2 On the Benefitt of Religion
- 3 On the Perfection of God's Knowledge

E T has read us 2 Lectures

- 1 Upon Light, a Phisico-Theological Discourse
- 2 Upon Providence.

S. M. read us 1 Lecture

On God's Wisdom & Power

J T has read us 3 Lectures

- 1 Upon the Unity of y^e Chh
- 2 Upon Scism
- 3 Upon the Shame & punishm^t of Sin

J L has read us 4 Lectures

Upon the Usfullness of Learning
Upon Transubstantiation & Predestination
Upon Prejudice
Upon the Majesty of God & his ()

O P read us one Lecture

Upon the fear of God.

I G read us one Lecture

On the Progress of Philosophy

N H read us one Lecture

on Conversation

J D read us one Lecture

on Regeneration

N L read us one Lecture

Showing our Obligation to Obedience

Lectures 21

The questions y^t have been Discussed are these—

- 1 Whether Society's of Xtians are Oblig'd to pray together
Morn & Eve
- 2 Whether the Souls of Brutes are Immortall?
- 3 Whether humane Souls are Equal
- 4 Whether Infants are contain'd in Parvo in semine Marium?
- 5 Whether sight is made by y^e reception of Species?
- 6 Whether sins of Ignorance will be imputed.
- 7 Whether the happiness of Heaven will be progressive.
- 8 Whether Heathens can be Sav'd according to the Terms of y^e
Gospel.
- 9 Whether the Popish Uncion mention'd as they say in James
is now to be Used
- 10 Whether the world will be anihilatd or only refined?
- 11 Whether it be Fornication to lye with ones Sweetheart
(after Contraction) before marriage?
- 12 Whether Christ or Homodeus suffer'd?
- 13 Whether Forms of Prayer should be usd in Publick?
- 14 Whether we are oblig'd to bow att y^e Name of Jesus?
- 15 Whether a Preacher y^t has an Universall (?) call be oblig'd
to accept?
- 16 Whether any Sin is Unpardonable
- 17 Whether there be any Infallible Judge of Controversies
- 18 Whether Infants can be saved according to the Terms of y^e
Gospel
- 19 Whether a Deathbed repentance can be available according
to y^e Terms of y^e Gospel
- 20 Whether there be any Standard of Truth
- 21 When may a Man be said to Lye
- 22 When may a Man be said to Extort
- 23 Whether the Term of Mans Life be immoveably fixt

Besides these Questions and the Lectures, we have had divers Collections of Letters bro't in & read for the benefitt of the Society by Several Members.

This is the Progress wee have made the first year.

October 1723 E T read a Lecture to show that it is a point of Prudence To prove & Try all Doctrines in Religion, w^{ch} was to serve as an Introduction to a Sett of Controversial Discourses agreed upon by the Society to be successively carried, one every week.

Twas Disputed—

- 1 Whether any man can know or be fully assur'd of his Salvation.
- 2d meeting N R read a Lecture to prove y^e Being of a God against Atheists
- 2 Twas then Disputed What Original Sin was and whether Imputed?
- 3 Whether the Conversion was in a moment.
- 3d meeting J D read a Lecture against the Deists.
- Twas then Disputed
- 4 What an offence was?
- 5 What the Sin against y^e H Ghost (was).
- 4th meeting J F J read a Lecture against the Papists.
- Twas Disputed
- 6 Whether Tythes ought to be given now a dayes
- 7 Wherin the Morality of the Sabbath consists.
- 5th meeting N L read a Lecture on y^e Divinity of X against y^e Arians.
- Twas then Disputed
- 8 Whether Peter denied X 3 or 4 Times.
- 6th meeting J L read a Lecture against the Quakers.
- Twas then Disputed
- 9 Whether anything was added or taken from the Scriptures.
- 7th meeting. J T read a Lecture on Baptism against y^e Anti-pædo-baptists.
- Twas then Disputed
- 10 Whether Everything y^t was in God is God.

This Night Jan 1724 we finished our first Scheme of Lectures w^{ch} were controversial. We agreed upon another, viz^t

- 1st That there be a Discourse made on the worship of God 2 Upon Prayer 3 On Singing 4 On Preaching 5 On baptism 6 On Ld Supper (7) On reading the Scriptures.²⁸

²⁸ *The Telltale*, an undergraduate paper of 1721 (Harvard MS).

The account above must be considered not "minutes" but reports of the achievements and plans of the society. In reality it seems to be two reports—the first written in October, 1723, and continuing through "This is the Progress wee have made the first year" and the second, going from this point to the end, written in January, 1724.

One should like to identify this society with the "Private Meeting" organized in 1719 and to which Robie probably preached in 1721, since the records of the 1719 society show that it was in existence during at least part of the reported life of the Society of October, 1722. This is not possible. There is an observable difference in the character of these two societies; there is no duplication of membership; and there is a clear record of activity of both societies for the overlapping dates. The "Private Meeting" was more devotional in character, like the Mather Societies; whereas the Society of October, 1722, was more for religious debate and theological discussion. This division we shall meet later in student society history.

The report of the first fifteen months of the latter society is of more than ordinary interest because it portrays the main lines of activity for a number of later societies. Briefly, these are "lectures, discourses" (later called dissertations) by members, extemporaneous discussion of a "difficulty" (question), and carefully planned disputations or debates—these debates sometimes following safe lines and at other times plunging into the more controversial issues of the day—ethical and theological. Here we have the model for the activity of most student religious and literary societies for many years to come.

These Mather references, the Robie sermon, and the two Harvard Society manuscripts constitute the only evidence uncovered to date of student religious societies at Harvard or Yale prior to 1785. The only qualification is a question as to whether, during the Great Awakening associated with the preaching of Jonathan Edwards of Northampton and George Whitefield of England, there was a student religious society at Yale College. Jonathan Edwards in his *Life of David Brainerd*, written twenty-four years after Brainerd's expulsion from Yale for remarks uncomplimen-

tary to Tutor Whittlesey's religious life and for attending a Separatist meeting against the order of Rector Clap, suggests the existence of such a society in the winter of 1741-42. He says: "In the time of the awakening at college, there were several religious students that *associated themselves one with another for mutual conversation and assistance in spiritual things*, who were wont freely to open themselves to one another as special intimate friends: Brainerd was one of this company." ²⁹

Obviously, this may have been merely a small group of familiar friends with no society organization. Realizing how sharply the lines were then being drawn between the "Old Lights" and "New Lights" and the way in which the students were divided on this issue, together with the stringency of college and colony laws, it would be natural to suppose that this group was a real student society—perhaps existing in secret. There is, however, no proof of its existence, either in Brainerd's writings, or those of Jonathan Edwards, and there seem to be no diaries contemporary with this event to help us on this point. Unfortunately, the two volumes of Brainerd's diary kept during this period were destroyed by Brainerd's order "when he lay on his death bed," ³⁰ probably because of his later conviction that his conduct in this episode "did not become a Christian." ³¹

Brainerd was not the only one to fall under official displeasure. In the autumn of 1743 "two brothers, John and Ebenezer Cleaveland, twenty-two and a half and eighteen and a half years of age, one in the senior year, and the other just admitted as a freshman, had, during a part of the vacation following Commencement, absented themselves in their parents' company from the stated public worship of the church to which they belonged, in Canterbury, Connecticut, and had attended religious meetings conducted by laymen at a private house. Such meetings were illegal. The Rector and Tutors on November 19 ordered the Cleavelands to be admonished, and if they should refuse to make proper acknowledgment, to be expelled. The young men, con-

²⁹ Jonathan Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd* (1764), p. 19.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

tinuing to refuse to confess, as required, that they 'had violated the laws of God, of the Colony, and of the College,' were expelled in January."³² If these students were members of a dissenting or separatist student society, this strong and decisive action on the part of the college effectively destroyed it.

These earliest student societies at Harvard have added significance because of their existence at a time when the control of student conduct and religion by the colleges was most complete. It is possible but cannot be proven that this official control of student life had some bearing on the secrecy of these societies. It is clear, however, that at least the societies of 1706 and 1716 had Cotton Mather as a friend and counselor and that he looked upon these groups as the center of hope for student religious life. Such societies were undoubtedly more prevalent at Harvard and Yale than the meager references and records now in existence make apparent.

³² Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Yale Biographies and Annals, 1701-1745*, pp. 18-19.

CHAPTER II

STUDENT RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES—1750-1800

IN a manual of American colleges published in 1856 twenty-two colleges are listed as having been founded prior to 1800.¹ The writer has discovered contemporary evidence of student religious societies in sixteen; but, with the exception of Harvard and Yale, this evidence is confined to the period 1800-1850. This does not necessarily mean that there were no societies in these colleges between 1750-1800 but rather that references to such societies have not yet been discovered in the meager early college records, histories, and diaries.

With the constantly changing leadership of student societies it is surprising that any journals, record books, and letters out of the student life of this period are extant. When Professor Henry B. Wright reported the discovery of the records of the Yale Moral Society (organized 1797), this was generally regarded as the earliest record of any American college religious society.² The preceding chapter has given clear proof of the existence of earlier societies at Harvard. The earliest journals describing the life of a student religious society are the eight volumes of manuscript record books of a society formed at Harvard November 10, 1785—the Adelphoi Theologia. The Greek may be bad, but the society itself seems to have played a very useful and honorable part in Harvard student religious life. These record books cover the period 1785-1847—a long life for any undergraduate organization. The constitution of 1837 changed the name to the Society for Religious Improvement.³ The writer has found no reference to this society in Harvard histories, the voluntary student reli-

¹ Rev. Z. Freeman, *Manual of American Colleges*, Table IX, p. 43.

² Henry B. Wright, *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale*, p. 56. (It should be noted that another record book for this society has been found since Professor Wright wrote this book.—Author.)

³ Vol. VI, Record Book, Adelphoi Theologia (Harvard Ms.).

gious life being generally pictured as beginning with the organization of the Saturday Evening Religious Society in 1802.

The society was founded by six members of the class of 1786—John Andrews, Alden Bradford, Amos Crosby, Robert Fowle, William Harris, and John Simpkins. The first page of the roll of members contains the names of fifty-five members about evenly divided between the classes of 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790.⁴ William Ellery Channing (1798), spokesman of the Unitarian movement, and Parker Cleaveland (1798), of Bowdoin, were among its distinguished members. The records of the society cease in 1847, although they give no reasons for the discontinuance of the organization.

The preamble sets forth the convictions of the students who organized this society in the following words:

“To enkindle the Sparks of Virtue and Religion in the youthful breast; to cause the Human mind to expand with Love and Adoration to the universal Parent of the World; and to diffuse the Knowledge and benign Influences of his divine Religion, are duties highly worthy of every rational being, but more especially of those who are designed to fill the sacred desk, and to instruct Mankind in those Principles which will secure them Happiness in this World, and a glorious Immortality in the Mansion of Bliss.

“We, who are here assembled, sensible of the advantages of mutual assistance; desirous to excel in the Christian profession, and to advance the glory and reputation, not only of our Alma Mater, but of our rising America, have become members of this Society, by the name of Adelphoi Theologia, in which Society we determine to conduct ourselves worthy our Profession, and to transmit it down to congenial souls among the future Sons of Harvard.

“Mr

“If, after having heard the Laws of this Society, you dislike them & retire, will you promise upon your Honour the most inviolable Secrecy?” . . .⁵

This preamble with its mixture of concern for “mutual assistance” in “diffusing the knowledge and benign influences of his

⁴ Vol. I, Record Book, Adelphoi Theologia, Harvard University Library.

⁵ *Ibid.*

divine Religion" and "advancing the glory and reputation not only of our Alma Mater but of our rising America" must be read with some feeling for the world-wide religious and political awakening which was just in its beginning in these early post-revolutionary days.

Conditions for membership in this society were "unanimous consent of the Members by ballot" ⁶ "an unblemished character," and conforming "his conduct to the rules of Morality and Religion." ⁷ The existence of the society and "everything which concerns it" were to be kept "a most profound secret." ⁸ Any prospective member was first to be "consulted by the 'President' in order to exact from him "a most solemn promise" to keep "whatever he (the President) should disclose an Eternal Secret." ⁹ As already indicated, this requirement of secrecy characterized a number of early student religious societies, apparently disappearing from all of them by the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century. The reasons for secrecy—aside from the lure to youth of belonging to a secret organization—were probably different in each case. Several of the minutes of this society seem to suggest a fear that there might be student opposition if its existence became known. These references appear every two or three years from 1785 to 1800, but after that time the life of the society seems quite secure. ¹⁰

⁶ Vol. I, Record Book, Adelphoi Theologia (Harvard ms), Law 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Law 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Law 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Law 10.

¹⁰ Record Book, Adelphoi Theologia (Harvard ms). Minutes for June 2, 1787: "As there are strong suspicions among the students suspecting the existence of this society; and being sensible that a continuation of it, at present, would tend greatly to injure it, if not wholly to destroy it—Voted that it be adjourned till the first Saturday night in the term succeeding commencement."

Minutes for April 8, 1789: "By reason of many suspicions unfavorable to the existence of this society prevailing among the Students it was thought prudent to defer assembling together until this day."

An undated record following that of July 3, 1796, says: "No meeting. The president by the advice of the brethren, on account of many suspicions prevailing among the skolars, unfavorable to the welfare of the society, thought best to adjourn to the 19th of September."

The society meetings were to take place "two Evenings in a Week viz. Wednesdays and Saturdays." "Two persons" were "to perform" at each meeting—"one shall pray, and the other read a Discourse of his own composition, the subject of which shall be taken from the Bible."¹¹ Members of the society were to "set and perform classically and Alphabetically, except the President and Secretary who shall set and perform first."¹² There was a membership fee of three shillings and fines and other forms of "punishment" were to be assessed for absence, tardiness, and neglect of society duties.¹³

That members might be properly solemnized regarding the purposes of the society and their obligations the following provisions for their initiation were made:¹⁴

LAW 12th

Every member of the Society shall sign the following Declaration:

We the subscribers under the inspection of that awful Being, who searcheth the Heart, most solemnly promise and engage invariably to observe these Laws to which we have given our chearfull concurrence and we implore his blessing and protection, that the laudable efforts of the Adelphoi Theologia may be crowned with success, that he would impart his all-sufficient aid to strengthen our weakness, and smile upon us with the merciful tokens of Benignity and Love.

To GOD, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, be rendered unceasing Praises.

Amen.

N.B. After the Person to be admitted has testified his approbation of the Laws of the Society, the President shall administer the Declaration in the manner of an Oath, which he shall then sign. After which the President shall conclude his admission with the following address:

BROTHER: We feel an inexpressible pleasure in finding that your sentiments are so congenial with our own; that you chearfully

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Law 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, Law 9.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Laws 7, 8 and 10.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Law 12.

become a member of this little Fraternity— If you desire to improve in Religion and Morality; if you wish to cultivate the principles of Virtue, Friendship and Philanthropy; in this Society we promise you all the assistance, which a band of Brothers can afford.

The records of this society for its sixty-two years of existence give clear evidence of its usefulness. Such secretary's comments as the following are not uncommon: "After an evening spent in the pious contemplation of the goodness of God, and religious sociability, we retire laden with rich experiences of the guardian care of Almighty God."¹⁵ There were close relationships between this society and the "Government" of the college. The minutes for May 15, 1790, record a vote of "thanks to Mr. Crosby, Tutor, for his assistance"—"a well adapted prayer."

In the diary of Thomas Tracy (Harvard 1806) who during the years 1815-1823 was a resident graduate student and candidate for the ministry there is the following picture of a meeting of this society:

"Tuesday, July 11, 1815. At nine attended a Theological Society of undergraduates with the president, professors, and tutors. Otis from Newburyport read a chapter in the New Testament and the hymn beginning 'While thee I seek, protesting' which was well sung in its appropriate tune. The president then prayed in a low, impressive tone somewhat peculiar to him. Otis then read a sermon of considerable merit on the importance of literature and of associations to a religious life. Dr. Ware made a judicious and affectionate concluding prayer. The anomaly of the government thus mingling with the student's devotional exercises must produce the happiest effects.

"Wednesday, July 12th. Formally admitted into the Theological Society at 7. A middling sermon by Peter Osgood. Multifarious remarks by members. Not unimproving."¹⁶

Perhaps an even better picture of the atmosphere and activities of this society is that contained in the diary of Samuel Gilman, the composer of "Fair Harvard." This diary was in the form of

¹⁵ Record Book, *Adelphoi Theologia* (Harvard MS), Nov. 13, 1790.

¹⁶ *Diary of Thomas Tracy* (Harvard MS).

daily letters to Caroline Howard, to whom Mr. Gilman was engaged. On December 11, 1811, he wrote:

"Initiated this evening into a theological society, composed of graduates and officers of college. The exercises are, a prayer, sermon, critical dissertation, and concluding prayer. After each performance, the members indulge in the most free and scrutinizing remarks. The discourse this evening was pronounced by brother Everett. It was on heaven; and written in a masterly manner. His text was rather inappropriately chosen—'I consider the heavens'—the Psalmist evidently alluded to the visible heaven; whereas our ingenious brother's meditation referred only to that which eye hath not seen, neither hath ear heard, neither hath it entered into the head of men to conceive. His design was, to demonstrate that heaven is a place of security; that it is a place of activity; that it is a place of benevolence. Being young, and rather inclined to bold, paradoxical assertions, he was somewhat imprudent as it respected the first topic: viz. *security*; for he thus had to oppose the doctrine of fallen angels, who it seems did not find absolute security even in heaven. How then shall he evade this difficulty? Why he sets about to destroy the authenticity of all those books in the Bible which contain any mention of fallen angels, and there are the second epistle of Peter, the epistle of Jude, and the book of Revelation. Here he declined into heterodoxy, and almost degenerated into heresy. But his positions were afterwards ably refuted by brother English, who knows perhaps more of theology than any student amongst us. I have been highly gratified with the proceedings of the society, and anticipate considerable improvement and satisfaction from my connexion with it. It is thus that sources of pleasure are continually arising around to console us for your absence, and I ought to be grateful." . . .

The primary concern of this study is not the usefulness or history of this society. The value of its records is confined to the light it throws on the characteristics of the earliest student societies. The fifteen years of its history prior to 1800 mark it off as a society that in its beginnings was more theological and literary in type than devotional. It was more like the society of October, 1722, than it was the earlier Mather Societies or the Harvard

Student Society (Private Meeting) of 1719. It seems to have drawn into its membership undergraduates, graduate students, and "officers of the college." Although its first meetings were characterized by prayer and a discourse, the society very quickly broadened their scope—providing for "extemporaneous disputes on some important thesis in Divinity,"¹⁷ "a discourse at ye Anniversary of the Society,"¹⁸ general participation of members in the extemporaneous debates,¹⁹ and the right of disputants to give their real opinion on the question "after it has been discussed by the Society."²⁰

An analysis of the questions discussed in this early period shows a great preponderance of philosophical and theological questions. The following are good examples:

Oct. 8, 1786—Whether Universal salvation be probably from Scripture?

Oct. 15, 1786—Whether the introduction of sin advanced the glory of God?

March 31, 1787—Which ought to have the greatest influence over Action, the hope of reward or the fear of punishment?

Oct. 4, 1788—Whether any of our actions are disinterested?

Nov. 8, 1788—Whether the benevolence of God can be admitted if a majority of mankind be condemned to eternal misery?

July 22, 1791—Whether we be proper persons to dispute upon the difficult points of religion, till we are become *skillful* in the practice of those that are plain?

March 30, 1793—Whether atheism has been favorable to Christianity?

June 1, 1793—Whether the prevailing spirit of toleration proceeds more from an enlarged and liberal way of thinking than from an indifference to matters of religion?

Sept. 14, 1793—Whether a belief of the doctrine of materialism, on supposition that this doctrine be true, would be beneficial to mankind?

Sept. 2, 1798—Whether persecutions which have been raised against Christians have been advantageous to the cause?

¹⁷ Record Book, Adelphoi Theologia (Harvard MS), Sept. 23, 1788.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1788.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, May 15, 1790.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1796.

June 19, 1798—Whether it be for the interests of Christianity that its believers should on all occasions, and at all times whenever it be attacked, defend it?

That the society was not devoid of ethical interests—although from the records these seem quite secondary—may be judged from the following subjects for disputation:

March 25, 1787—Whether Christianity has tended to promote the Happiness of Civil Society?

March 31, 1792—Whether a minister of the gospel ought by invitation to settle with a people from lucrative motives?

March 26, 1796—Whether human happiness has been promoted by wine?

April 2, 1796—Whether it be the duty of a Christian to distribute alms among those who are openly vicious?

May 16, 1796—Whether it be the duty of a minister to interfere in politics?

June 11, 1796—Whether poverty be more injurious to religion than ignorance? ²¹

Twelve years after the organization of *Adelphoi Theologia*—April 6, 1797—twenty-five Yale students met in the County Court House and formed “themselves into a society for the promotion and preservation of morality among the members of this University to be known by the name of the Moral Society of Yale College.” ²² In this company of twenty-five students twelve were seniors, six juniors, four sophomores, and three graduates. The society was exclusively student and no faculty member was in any way connected with it until 1815, when the society admitted Tutor Fisher after much discussion by the members regarding the expediency of such a step.²³ Such distinguished Yale names as Richard C. Morse (1809), Theodore Dwight (1813), David Kimball (1814), Theodore Woolsey (1817), Leonard Bacon (1818), William Bushnell (1824), Samuel Porter (1826), appear among the members of the society.

²¹ Record Book, *Adelphoi Theologia* (Harvard ms).

²² Record Book, *A Yale Moral Society*, April 6, 1797 (Yale ms).

²³ *Ibid.*, November 2, 1815.

On initiation its members took the following vow: "You, and each of you, promise in the presence of these witnesses that you will never, either directly or indirectly, reveal any part of what you are now informed." The laws relating to the secrets of the society and the moral conduct of its members were "no less obligatory on vacation than on term time." Before a candidate could be admitted into membership he was required to answer in the affirmative the following questions: "Will you endeavor to regulate your conduct by the rules of morality contained in the Bible? Will you endeavor, by all prudent means, to suppress vice and promote the interests of morality in this seminary? Will you, as long as you continue a member of this society, wholly refrain from every kind of profane language? Will you never be guilty of playing any game in which property is concerned and will you refrain entirely from playing cards whilst you continue a member of this society?"²⁴ Later the following question was added: "Will you, so long as you continue a member of this society, abstain from the intemperate use of spirituous liquor?"

Several penalties were prescribed for any lapse in moral conduct or wilfully "divulging the offices, laws, or proceedings of the society." The breaking of the vow of secrecy meant expulsion. If a rule of conduct was broken, a confession at a society meeting was required for the first offense; if the offense was repeated, the member was expelled and compelled to give up all copies of records of the society in his possession.²⁵

The activities of the Yale Moral Society give us a good idea of the characteristics of many of the early student religious societies. The society met every three weeks. Its program consisted of a debate on some moral or religious subject. The disputants and the subjects for debate were selected one meeting in advance. A decision on the debate was made by the president and frequently by the society itself. The debate was the dependable feature of the society meeting. In addition, the program called

²⁴ Record Book, A Yale Moral Society—Art. I, Section 7 of the Constitution (Yale Ms).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Art. II, Sections 1 and 2 of the Constitution.

for an oration by some member of the society.²⁶ It is rather interesting to note that the orator was seldom prepared: the records of the society are full of excuses presented by the orator for his failure. At the annual meeting of the society a valedictory address was given by some member of the senior class.

A distinguishing feature of the society was found in the responsibility which it assumed for oversight of the morals of its own members and of the college body as a whole. There are many interesting reports of debate on breaches of morality either by members of the society or of the college body. Where the action related to a member of the society, and he did not of his own accord make voluntary confession, the member was accused in the society meeting. If after the accusation, he made confession of his guilt, he was forgiven by the society and counted as a member in good standing. A repetition of the offense meant, however, that he had to give up membership. If the offense was a misdemeanor committed by students not members of the society, then a committee was appointed to deal privately with the students involved and by reason to make them see the disastrous consequences of their conduct; but, when reason failed, to threaten to report their misdemeanor to the authorities of the college.

At one of its meetings the society had to consider a complaint involving the practice of gambling on the part of a number of members.²⁷ The evidence seemed to be strongly against the persons referred to and the society gave a chance for voluntary confessions. After some time a member of the senior class came forward and "voluntarily read a confession for playing at cards." This confession was accepted. The society then waited for further confessions, but as none were forthcoming members named fellow members who were also involved in this great immorality. Two of these students, after being named, read a confession in which they said that they had played cards "for amusement." The society accepted these confessions. The most serious of-

²⁶ Record Book, A Yale Moral Society (Yale ms). Constitution, Art. V, Sections 1, 2, and 3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, April 29, 1800.

fender, against whom the charge of having played for money seemed to have been satisfactorily proven, followed these other members with a similar confession. The society, however, was unwilling to accept this confession, as there was proof that Mr. "Blank" had gambled. The society determined that he "should read a more humble and particular confession or be expelled." After some hesitation the member brought forward "a more humble and particular confession" and was restored to the good graces of his society.²⁸

Occasionally the records throw an interesting sidelight on the attitude of members toward the society. Two members asked for dismissal on the ground that the society took up too much of their time. These dismissals were granted, but with these observations: "Their reasons could not be that the society is unworthy of their attention for perhaps its members were never more punctual in attendance, its exercises never more honorably performed, its own morals more pure, or those of the students in general more strictly watched than at present."²⁹

In this same meeting one of the members of the society stated that crime, profanity, and vice prevailed in the college "in so uncommon a degree" and he thought that the society ought to use its influence in suppressing them. The society appointed a committee to "inform a number of the most vicious of the impropriety and danger of their conduct and, that, unless they desisted, their conduct would be made known to the authorities of the college."³⁰ It is significant that one member of the society opposed this censorship of college morals and, finding no sympathy on the part of the society with the position that he took, requested a "dismission," which was readily given.³¹

A committee was appointed in July, 1814, to expostulate with Yale students on their "pernicious tendency" to gamble; and, "unless certain persons seriously and duly engage to said committee truly to discontinue in the future the practices of which they

²⁸ Record Book, A Yale Moral Society, April 29, 1800 (Yale MS).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, December 23, 1801.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

have been accused, to make known their names together with the facts alleged against them to the officers of the college.”³² The committee reported that they had interviewed two seniors, two sophomores, and one freshman, all of whom solemnly agreed to be good. The prompt response of offending students is indicative of the society’s influence.

Although the organization was called a “moral society” the topics discussed, as well as the views taken by the members of the society, make very clear that it was avowedly a student religious society. There is, however, a stronger ethical interest than is revealed in the records of Adelphei Theologia. The records were also more illuminating because they give the decisions made on the questions reached. The following list of topics debated, together with the decisions, give a picture of the problems that students discussed in their society meetings:

April 2, 1797—Does prosperity tend more to human happiness than adversity? *Negative.*

June 27, 1797—Is human testimony sufficient to establish the belief of miracles? *Affirmative.*

July 16, 1797—Ought infidels to be excluded from holding public offices? *Unanimously negative.*

July 27, 1797—Has religion more influence on the minds of men than a sense of honor? *Affirmative.*

Nov. 25, 1797—Can a man be blamed for obeying the dictates of his own conscience? *Negative.*

Dec. 26, 1797—Is lying ever justified? *Negative.*

Aug. 14, 1798—Have mankind a natural sense of right or wrong? *Negative.*

Jan. 6, 1799—Can the benevolence of the Deity be proved from the light of nature? *Negative.*

March 12, 1799—Ought man to be compelled for the support of the gospel? *Affirmative.*

Nov. 18, 1799—Are the different sects of the Christian religion of any disadvantage to it? *Negative.*

Nov. 21, 1801—Ought the Bible to be introduced in a school book? *Affirmative.*

March 27, 1798—Ought divorces to be granted? *Affirmative.*

³² Record Book, A Yale Moral Society (Yale MS).

Feb. 10, 1801—Did all mankind descend from one pair? *Affirmative.*

March 10, 1801—Whether theatres are beneficial? *Affirmative.*

Oct. 25, 1801—Was the deluge universal? *Affirmative.*

Nov. 10, 1801—Ought the clergy to be excluded from public offices? *Negative.*

April 13, 1802—Are miracles in the Scripture a sufficient proof of their authenticity? *Affirmative.*

Nov. 9, 1802—Are the eternal punishments of the wicked reconcilable with the benevolence of God? *Affirmative.*

July 14, 1803—Does sin consist in selfishness? *Affirmative.*

Nov. 12, 1805—Ought professors of religion to marry those who are not professors? *Decided by the President in the negative but by the Society in the affirmative.*

It is clear from these fair samples of the discussions during the early years of the life of the society that, although these students were generally "sound" in their theological views, they were exceedingly liberal on many of the ethical questions of the day. This would stand out more prominently if we were to examine the later records of the society. That occasionally a secretary's sense of humor got the better of him may be judged by the following: "Seniors took their leave this evening. May they be better members of the great Society into which they are about to enter than they have been of this. This ends my secretaryship."³³

The Moral Society combined interest in the theological, ethical, and moral oversight with vital participation in the religious awakenings characterizing the early years of the administration of President Dwight. Their activity had much to do with the revival of 1802 which shook the whole Yale College body and was in Professor Wright's judgment "preëminently an awakening of the students of Yale from a moral to a religious life."³⁴ Meetings for confession and prayer multiplied, and President Dwight and other members of the faculty held countless interviews with inquirers. Scores of students joined the college church and their

³³ Record Book, A Yale Moral Society (Yale ms).

³⁴ Henry B. Wright, *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale*, pp. 64-65.

own churches. Sentiment against infidelity and immorality had been growing when, in 1812-13, a revival broke out which Professor Wright calls "distinctly a student movement." It was preceded by much earnest prayer on the part of the members of the Moral Society. In their report for this college year are found the following sentiments:

"Last term ought ever to be remembered by the society, in which a great part of the senior class awakened to their eternal interest, as well as a number from the other classes which greatly increased the society. May the society still continue an ornament to the institution, a friend to sound morals and religion and an encouragement to all those who believe in the manner with which God is delighted." ³⁵

The discovery in 1931 and presentation to Yale University of the missing Record Book (B) of the Moral Society makes it possible now to give a complete picture of the life of this society. Like the Adelphei Theologia of Harvard, it had a long and useful existence. Its five record books cover a period of sixty-six years—the last recorded meeting being on December 21, 1861. The membership lists are continuous through September 30, 1861.³⁶ The name and status of the society were changed several times during its history. In July, 1828, it became the Moral and Theological Society.³⁷ The change signified the inclusion of more students from the "Theological Department" rather than any change in the character of the society. In October, 1834, the society took the name of The Rhetorical Society and by this time was almost exclusively a society of theological students. The final change in name was made in 1861 (just before the disappearance of the society) when it was called the Taylor Rhetorical Society. As in the case of Adelphei Theologia, there is nothing in the records of this society to indicate the reasons for its discontinuance. One suspects that the existence by this time at Harvard and Yale of much more influential student religious societies was in both cases the primary reason.

³⁵ Record Book, A Yale Moral Society (Yale ms).

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.* The new constitution was dated November 13, 1828.

CHAPTER III

POST-REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT LIFE AND STUDENT RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES OF THE FIRST DECADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THERE are no adequate data on which to base generalizations regarding the life of undergraduates, their morals and customs, their religious attitudes and practices, in the colonial colleges of the eighteenth century. Student diaries, notebooks, and journals such as those in the archives of Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Brown, and Princeton afford hints but give no balanced picture. A few glimpses, however, may help suggest the background. The following excerpt affords some insight into student life at Dartmouth during the Revolutionary War:

"While I was a member of College there were three revivals of religion among the students; & more than half were hopefully pious.

"I entered college in 1773 & graduated in 1777, when our revolutionary war was at its height; & we were daily expecting to be visited & massacred by the Indians & british tories & officers from Canada. So that we had to maintain a guard thro' the night that we might not be taken in surprise, & unprepared. I had to take my turn in this guard thro' the night.

"Alarms on account of the northern tribes of Indians, & ye inroads the british made into the country, were frequent. The students formed a military company, & choose Matoon, now a General in Massachusetts, for their captain. And every day under him we attended on the green to military exercises & we became very expert in the military art. This was good exercise for our bodies.

"On account of the severe troubles occasioned by the war the Authority agreed to have a private commencement the year I graduated. My class accordingly received their diplomas without

any collection of people, or exhibitions. After I received my Diploma I continued at College, & in connexion with one of my classmates, we spent our time in reading & studying Authors in Divinity; but we had no Instructor. The Presbytery convened at the College, & wholly unexpected or desired by us, they gave each of us a license to preach. We were by no means qualified for it; but being licensed we had to begin to preach.”¹

These diaries and official college records and laws make clear that life was simple—frequently crude—and that the college “government” generally sought rigorous control of student conduct and religious practices by means of “laws,” “rules,” “orders,” and “customs.” The practice of punishing by fines infractions of the code for moral and religious practices set up by the college authorities was not only general during most of the eighteenth century but was a substantial source of college income.² By the beginning of the nineteenth century this method of student discipline had largely disappeared.

In spite of the severe aspects of college life and its sombre theological background, the few student diaries extant for 1750-1800 give an impression of fairly normal student life. There was much figuring on how to get by a class hour without taking a “dead” (failure); there were trips to Boston for “the General Illumination upon the news of Canada’s being taken,” and there was a great deal of natural interest in the other sex. Aside from the disproportionate interest in sermons these might well be the diaries of twentieth-century students. T. Flint (Harvard 1800), writing in 1801 to a friend, found his chief distress centering around parental opposition to his marrying the girl of his choice. He said:

“Now this damsel is fair to look upon, & every discreet, therefore my soul cleaveth unto her. But her parents, lord love them! are rich, & bitterly love the root of all evil. Now I, thou knowest, am poor except in faith & good works, as old Job. What ad-

¹ *The Autobiography of Asa Burton, D.D.*, pp. 3-15 of Slade Copy ms (Dartmouth ms).

² For discussion of system of fines see Quincy’s *History of Harvard University*, vol. II, pp. 135-136, and Woolsey’s *Historical Discourse*, p. 47.

visest thou the dumpish young lad to do? hang? nothing like it. Drink wine & eat eggs. This I do, Shaw, & now I rather thrive. Studies as usual, school as usual. All is vanity!"³

It is not easy to picture the barrenness and isolation of some eighteenth-century colleges. Williams College in 1800 had fifty-eight students with two professors and two tutors. None of the rooms were painted, papered, or carpeted. "The entire furniture in any one room" excepting the bed could not have cost five dollars.

"Nothing in the form of stagecoach or vehicle for public communication ever entered the town. Once a week a solitary messenger, generally on horseback, came over the Florida Mountain, bringing us our newspapers and letters from Boston and the eastern parts of the State. Once in a week a Mr. Green came up from the south, generally in a one-horse wagon, bringing the country newspapers printed at Stockbridge and Pittsfield. And by some similar mode, and at like intervals, we heard from Troy and Albany. With the exception of these, not a ripple of the commotions that disturbed the world outside of these barriers of hills and mountains, ever reached the unruffled calm of our valley life."⁴

Perhaps in this isolation and simplicity is found partial explanation of the crudities and excesses in conduct.⁵

The food served in college commons was then (as frequently now) a common cause for complaint and—in the case of some colleges—open riot. Peter Elmendorf of Princeton, 1782, "wrote home that he would rather diet with the meanest rank of people than with the steward of the college—'we eat rye bread, half dough, and as black as it possibly can be, and oniony butter and sometimes dry bread and thick coffee for breakfast, a little milk or cyder and bread and sometimes meager chocolate for supper, very indifferent dinners, such as lean, tough boiled fresh beef with dry potatoes; and if this be called a diet for mean ravenous

³ Letters and manuscripts relating to the life of T. Flint. Letter of March 30, 1801 (Harvard ms).

⁴ Calvin Durfee, *History of Williams College*, p. 20, Introduction.

⁵ See F. Chase, *History of Dartmouth*, pp. 616-617.

people let it be so stiled and not a table for collegians.' ”⁶ Many of the clashes between faculty and students were of gastronomic origin.

Somewhat later than this Augustus Torrey (Harvard 1822) made the following notation in his diary: “Goose for dinner. Said to have migrated to this country with our ancestors. He made a strong and I believe not ineffectual resistance to the knife of destruction, *i.e.*, the carving knife.”⁷

The eighteenth century saw the beginning of college legislation against intemperance. A graduate of one of the early classes of Williams reported: “Everybody at that day drank, and, so be, it excited the animal spirits, it mattered not much what the liquor was. Some kept this in their rooms, and indulged in its use in their convivial meetings without concealment or disgrace.”⁸

In describing the state of religion and morality in Bowdoin College and the surrounding communities in 1794, Professor Smyth said:

“In several parishes in this vicinity the ministers were notoriously intemperate. Rum flowed down our streets. Sabbath breaking and profaneness were greatly prevalent. The population had outgrown the means of education. There was little religious instruction afforded the young,—they were seldom catechised. There were no Sabbath Schools. Moral restraints generally were deplorably relaxed. It was a rare spectacle if a young man confessed before men his Redeemer. Very few of the young were members of the churches. In the first eight classes I can learn of but one who may have been deemed, at the time of admission, hopefully pious; and it is doubtful whether he had made a public profession of religion.

. . . “‘Religion,’ writes one who was then a member of college, ‘Religion was connected with the College only in the person of President M’Keen. He *was* christian, courteous, accessible, venerable, and universally beloved; but what could this avail, when, in each college room, there was a sideboard sparkling with wines and stronger stimulants.’ ”⁹

⁶ Varnum Collins, *Princeton*, pp. 166-167.

⁷ Augustus Torrey, *Journal* (1821-24) (Harvard ms.).

⁸ Calvin Durfee, *History of Williams College*, Introduction, p. 24.

⁹ E. C. Smyth, *Discourses on the Religious History of Bowdoin*, pp. 5-8.

After all possible allowance has been made for the ways in which ecclesiastical spectacles have distorted our view of the moral and religious conditions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, there can be no doubt that at the beginning of the first decade of the nineteenth century materialistic and atheistic philosophies were popular and that conventional moral standards were held lightly. It became the fashion for students to scoff at the forms of religion as the "shackles of superstition." They chose the names of famous atheists as the nicknames with which they saluted one another. "Churches were known as temples and infidel clubs were formed whose purpose it was to reconstruct the universe without God."¹⁰ Jedediah Bushnell, a member of the first freshman class of Williams College, testifying to the general indifference to religion and morals in those first years said: "The number of professors of religion was very few; but one in my class at that time who belonged to any church—none in the higher classes. The classes which entered afterwards were larger and contained several professors of religion, one or two instances of decided piety."¹¹ At Dartmouth in 1798—in contrast to 1775—the state of religion was so far reduced that but a single member of the class of 1799 was publicly known as a professing Christian.¹² But Dartmouth was no worse than other colleges. A wave of irreligion had for the moment submerged them all.

This revolt against conventional moral and religious standards was a following of the fashion of the day rather than the result of any new deep-seated conviction. That this wave of skepticism and immorality was one of the by-products of the war-torn condition of the world and atmosphere of Revolution and freedom that characterized these years there can be little doubt.¹³ There was much more extreme defiance of conventional, moral,

¹⁰ See Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States*, pp. 313-324.

¹¹ Calvin Durfee, *History of Williams College*, pp. 111-112.

¹² F. Chase, *History of Dartmouth*, pp. 616-617.

¹³ See discussion by President Timothy Dwight of Yale on the question "Are Wars Beneficial?" (April 20, 1814), "President Dwight's Decision of Questions," by Theodore Dwight, Jr., pp. 334-338.

and religious standards by young people than that experienced following the World War of 1914-1918. The fires lighted in France by our Revolution and rekindled by the frenzied excesses of the French Revolution set loose the passions of the youth of all lands and especially of our struggling Republic. For them the glories of Utopia had arrived. Distinctions of class, race, sex, color, and religion were all swept away. One can scarcely picture the atmosphere of the times except as a great world-wide emotional upheaval having in it many of the characteristics of a religious awakening. Perhaps the religious devotion of Russian youth to the atheistic ideals of Communism is a fair contemporary parallel.

With the turn of the century striking evidence of growing dissatisfaction with the low state of morals and religion is found in the revivals which, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, were dramatic symbols of a general awakening of evangelical religion. Revolt and revivals went together in this decade. The revolt against the conventions of morality, the demands for freedom and self-expression, and the challenges to education and to the foundations of orthodox Christianity continued with great vigor; but they form only part of the picture of this eventful decade. It was quite as much a period of widespread religious awakening—coming both as a reaction against the moral and religious orgies of the day and as a reaching out for a philosophy and experience of religion that would be adequate for the new day. The best times for religion and religious movements have generally been those times when its assumptions, practices, and sanctions have been most vigorously challenged.

Tens of thousands of young people were brought back to the realities of religion. The influence of these revivals and the revolt against the extremes to which the atheistic influences of the day had carried the colleges brought about the rise of the voluntary student religious societies. So far as we are able to judge from contemporary records, the spread of Christian student societies in American colleges begins with the revivals of religion of this decade. At Harvard, Dartmouth, Brown, Williams, Bowdoin, Middlebury, and Andover new societies were formed. They were

a continuation of the older student religious society experience, but they developed the characteristics of their contemporary college and religious life.

The Religious Society of Dartmouth was organized in 1801. There are no records for this society prior to 1808, when it takes the name Theological Society. Between 1801 and 1808 there was apparently a parallel student religious society called "The Religiosi"—these two being merged on April 24, 1808, into the Theological Society of Dartmouth College. The records for this first meeting read:

"RESOLVED that the Constitution, denominated the Constitution of the Religiosi of Dartmouth College commencing with the 1st Page of this volume has been & is accepted and substituted in stead of the Constitution of the Religious Society of Dartmouth College organized A.D. 1801—Att. Joel Wright, Sec." ¹⁴

There seem to be no other direct or indirect references to these societies prior to their union in the Theological Society of 1808.¹⁵ From that point on the records are well preserved and, *although its name has changed several times in its history, yet there is an unbroken continuity in its life to the present day when it has the name Dartmouth Christian Association.*¹⁶

The preamble of the Theological Society reads: "Religion being the first duty & noblest employment of man; & its interest being promoted, under Divine Influence, by the united exertions, ardent prayers, frequent intercourse, mutual counsel, friendly reproof, & admonition of its votaries: we the members of the Theological Society of Dartmouth College, engage to regulate ourselves according to the following articles."

Both this preamble and the later records of the society make clear the large place that mutual watchfulness, ardent prayers,

¹⁴ Record Book, Theological Society, April 24, 1808 (Dartmouth Ms).

¹⁵ A careful history of the Theological Society by Charles H. Chandler was written for an anniversary of the society in 1868 but this gives no information on this point.

¹⁶ Consult Charles T. Brewster, *A History of the Dartmouth Christian Association* (Dartmouth Ms).

and frequent intercourse have in the life of this society. Its devotional emphasis is much more marked than that of the Adelphei Theologia or the Yale Moral Society. The differences are so marked that it is important to quote fully certain articles of the Constitution:

Article 1st.

It shall be the duty of every member of this Society strictly to watch over the conduct of the other members; & if any individual walks contrary to the rules of the Gospel, to endeavour, as far as possible, to reclaim him, by warning him of his danger.

"Article 2^d. Character of candidates and admission of members.

Sec. 1st. No person, who does not give evidence of experimental acquaintance with the religion of the Gospel, shall become a member.

"Article 3^d. Officers & their duties.

College

Sec. 1st. The President of this (University) shall at all times be considered as Primarius, having the superintendence of the interest and proceedings of the society, and when he may think proper to be present at any of their meetings, to conduct the exercises of the same. In case of his absence the members of the oldest class present in alphabetical order, shall preside.

"Article 5th. Misdemeanor & censure.

Sec. 1st. Any member ceasing to support the character requisite for admission, shall be liable either to admonition, or expulsion from the society.

Sec. 3^d. If any member of this society indulge himself in scenes of revelling and intemperance; or in any species of gambling; or in attendance at balls and assemblies, or in any way, tolerate these, or other practices repugnant to the word of God, & which would tend to bring a reproach on this Society as a religious institution, he shall be expelled.

The relation of the president of the college as Primarius of the society is unique among student societies. There is no evidence in the records of the society that the president ever attended society meetings and only a few references of consultation with him as Primarius—one of these times being when the society

voted "with the consent of the Primarius" to insert in Article 5, the words "*or in attendance at Balls and Assemblies.*"¹⁷

Contrary to the implications of its name, the society does not seem to have spent much of its time in debates and theological disputations. Here it differs from both the Adelphoi Theologia (Harvard) and the Yale Moral Society. It was more like the earlier Mather Young Men's Societies, its central interests being religious fellowship, nurturing the devotional life, and mutual watchfulness of the moral conduct of its members. Because of this last feature, the pages of its record books, like those of the Moral Society, are frequently occupied with lively accounts of moral discipline. One of the earliest cases involved a student who "approves treating," "has left the duty of secret prayer," and was "guilty of indecent conduct in imitating the behaviour of a drunken man."¹⁸ Because of the fact that what should be the college green was really public pasture land, "nocturnal cow hunting" was a frequent form of student sport. This was vigorously discountenanced by the society.¹⁹ Among the charges leading to the expulsion of one student was that he was "disguised with liquor," the members voting for his dismissal "from an imperious sense of duty" but "expressing their unpleasant feelings and deep regret that a case of this complexion should ever have occurred." The president in a "pertinent and pathetic address" made known to the guilty member that his "connections with the society were dissolved."²⁰

The Yale Moral Society and the Dartmouth Theological Society seem to have been alone among student societies in their practice of trying members for what they regarded as breaches of morality. In both societies this feature disappeared by the end of the second decade.

There was no pledge of secrecy required of members of the Dartmouth Society. The meetings seem to have been private until 1812, when members of the society were "allowed the privilege

¹⁷ Record Book, Theological Society, July 7, 1811 (Dartmouth MS).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, April 14 and 15, 1811.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, July 24, 1815.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, April 11, 1813.

of inviting religious friends into their meetings.”²¹ The provision that membership be limited to those having “experimental acquaintance with the religion of the Gospel” is one that we will meet in other student societies—the word experimental apparently being used in the sense of making the contrast between having an experience of religion and merely possessing or being interested in theories of religion.

Few religious societies have served the cause of religion in college more significantly than the Theological Society. Its interests and influence broadened with the passing years. By 1868 twelve hundred Dartmouth students had been members of the society—four hundred and fifty of these were ministers of the Gospel; sixty were professors; and sixteen college presidents.²²

In 1802 (the exact date has been lost) three Brown University students formed a “College Praying Society” which met weekly “in a private room, secretly, for fear of disturbance from the unpenitent.”²³ The covenant to which between 1802 and 1818 “there were one hundred and twenty-four signatures”²⁴ read in part as follows:

“We the subscribers solemnly covenant in the presence of the Prayer Hearing God, that by His Grace assisting, we will maintain this prayer meeting weekly, so long as two members of the Society continue in College. But if the time should come when there is but one member, when he leaves the place he shall deliver it to the President of the College.”

Unfortunately the record book of these early years, which in the middle of the last century seems to have been at Brown, cannot now be found. The few extant direct quotations from these records give only a hint as to the activity of this society. Under date of March 10, 1805, the following reference to a revival in Providence appears:

²¹ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1812 (Dartmouth ms).

²² See Charles H. Chandler, *History of the Theological Society* (1808) (Dartmouth archives).

²³ Reuben Guild, *Early Religious History of Brown University* (Brown ms).

²⁴ *Ibid.*

"While the town of Providence has been sharing largely in the effusions of the Divine Spirit, the University we hope has not been wholly passed by, but a few we trust have been brought to embrace the Redeemer, so that there is an addition to the number of praying souls, although they have not as yet joined the Society."²⁵

The first record book of the society available is that beginning February, 1821, when the name of the society was changed to the Religious Society of Brown University—this revised constitution stating the object to be "the promotion of religion, pure and undefiled before God," both in ourselves, and among those with whom we are immediately associated.²⁶ Although the official records from 1802-1821 are missing, we are not left in any doubt regarding the character and activity of this society, particularly from 1813 on. This society and the one at Andover (1811) carried on an extensive intercollegiate correspondence and more than one hundred and fifty letters from other college religious societies are preserved in the Brown University archives. The writer has recovered twenty-one letters in other colleges sent to the religious society of the college by the Brown Praying Society.

Here, as with the Theological Society at Dartmouth, we are dealing with a society that is primarily devotional and practical rather than speculative and disputatious in character. Again it is a society that, with changes of name and emphases, has an unbroken history to the present day—the work begun by this society in 1802 being now carried forward by the Brown University Christian Association. Writing on June 25, 1815, to the religious students in Williams College, the Praying Society said:

"The pious students of this University, in times past, finding themselves endangered by spiritual and temporal enemies; finding also that their strength was but perfect weakness, and that the victory must be on the side of the enemy, without the assistance of the God of sabaoth, formed themselves into a So-

²⁵ Reuben Guild, *Early Religious History of Brown University* (Brown MS).

²⁶ Constitution and Records of the Religious Society of Brown University, Record No. 1 (Brown MS).

ciety called the Praying Society, for the purpose of calling on His name for the blessing of His grace. Since the year 1802, this Society has assembled weekly for the above named purpose. Many times since we have been members of this Society, we have felt ourselves almost forsaken of God and despised of men. . . . We indulge a hope, that God will for His name's sake, increase our strength and our number." ²⁷

Only the intensity of its devotional life, its close connection with the revivals of religion—particularly that of 1820—and its deep sense of the importance of intercollegiate fellowship distinguish this society from others in this early period. Whether this intercollegiate correspondence took place before 1810 cannot now be determined. The earliest letter from Brown found by the writer is one sent to Princeton, June 20, 1813.²⁸

On Saturday evening, December 11, 1802, seven earnest Christian Harvard students—four sophomores and three juniors—"impressed by a sense of the infinite importance of early piety and the great advantages which may be derived from religious intercourse," formed themselves into the "Saturday Evening Religious Society in Harvard College."²⁹ "The purpose of the society is that of promoting our own mutual edification, and that of others, who may hereafter be joined to us, in plain, practical, experimental religion."³⁰ Here again we see the word "experimental" used to mean those who have experimented with religion enough to have an experience of religion—in other words the opposite of the twentieth-century idea of search and tentativeness. The reasons for this must have been something like those which give positive religious positions like Barthianism such a hold in 1934, namely, that they seem to have an answer to the materialistic philosophies of the day. The conditions for members support this view. Article 3 of the constitution stated: "Article 3. No person shall be admitted, as a member of this Society, who is openly vicious

²⁷ Letter, Praying Society in Brown University to the religious students in Williams College, June 25, 1815 (Brown MS).

²⁸ Copy in Brown University MS.

²⁹ Constitution of Saturday Evening Religious Society, 1802 (Harvard MS).

³⁰ *Ibid.*

or profane, or generally supposed to disbelieve the necessity and truth of divine revelation, or any of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, particularly the doctrines of human depravity; the existence of one God in three Persons, Father, Son and Holy Ghost; the atonement and mediation of Christ. But no oath shall ever be required in any instance.”³¹

This society, like the Brown and Dartmouth societies, was devotional in type. Article 1 provided that: “The stated meetings of the society, unless for special reasons omitted, or changed to sabbath evening, shall be on saturday evening weekly in term time. They shall be uniformly opened and closed with prayer in which all the members shall lead in turn so far as shall be thought expedient by the society. After opening the meeting, as above directed, a portion of Scripture shall be read. Other reading and conversation, calculated directly to promote piety, may be then introduced. But any subject of dispute whatever, unless relative to something unconstitutional, shall be immediately dismissed at the request of a majority of members present.”³²

In one of the early meetings of the society, this plan for meeting was modified by the following vote: “After addressing the throne of grace and reading a portion of scripture the Society passed a vote, that those, who open and close the meeting, shall have it at their option, to propose either reading or conversation, as the intermediate exercises of the evening, on which they perform; and if they choose the latter, they shall propose a subject for discussion. The society spent the remainder of the evening ‘till the last exercise in useful conversation on ‘coming to Christ.’ ”³³ Although it does not appear in the constitution, there apparently existed an agreement among the members to keep the society’s existence a secret. On November 26, 1803, the following records appear: “Assembled according to adjournment. Brother Burge prayed and read a chapter. The members then discussed

³¹ Constitution of Saturday Evening Religious Society, 1802 (Harvard MS).

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Records of Saturday Evening Religious Society, July 31, 1803 (Harvard MS).

the expediency of making the Society public, and of meeting at their rooms in College. Some members being absent, it was determined to make the society public on condition the absent members consented, but not to meet in College till next term.”³⁴ Although all legal requirements of secrecy seem to have disappeared early in their society life, yet at many different times this struggling evangelical student society seems to have felt the necessity of private meetings, especially because of the heat engendered by the evangelical-Unitarian struggle. In a letter to the Brown Praying Circle, written July 21, 1815, they said: “Remember that we, our Society, are so infinitely the minority, that we are necessitated secretly to retire to a secluded place to perform our devotions, therefore may we have your ardent ejaculations, that God of his infinite mercy would pour out in plentiful effusions the convincing and converting influences of his Holy Spirit upon this Seminary. Pray that the pure principles of Christianity might revive and be embraced here.”

This society, in spite of or because of its early struggles as a “defender of the faith” has had a long and honorable history in Harvard College religious life. In 1821 it united with a Wednesday Evening Society organized 1819 (no records available) and took the name Society of Christian Brethren. Its connections with the Harvard University Christian Association and the present work of the Philips Brooks House (1934) are unbroken.

Although the society was more completely undergraduate in character than its contemporary, Adelphoi Theologia, yet in an early meeting it acknowledges the “pleasure and utility” of the attendance of two tutors “who far from that stiff formality, which conscious superiority sometimes inspires, unite in our exercises with all the humility of Christians and familiarity of brothers.”³⁵ At its next meeting the society invited both of these tutors to become honorary members. It is significant that the college pastor, Professor Ware, seems to have kept in active contact with this society and the Adelphoi Theologia.

The records and correspondence of the first two decades give

³⁴ *Ibid.*, November 26, 1803 (Harvard Ms).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, March 10, 1804.

clear evidence that, because of the theological controversies, the society frequently sailed through rough seas. In spite of its difficulties the "conversation in its meetings was generally animated, entertaining, and instructing."³⁶ Other societies similar to those at Harvard, Brown, Dartmouth, and Yale had their beginnings during this troubled first decade of the nineteenth century. There were theological societies at Williams (1804) and Bowdoin (1806). There are no extant contemporary records for either of these societies but the fact of their existence and their dates are quite well established. The Bowdoin Society was organized by the only undergraduate of decidedly religious character and Jonathan Cogswell, a tutor. Its exercises consisted of "the discussion of some passage of Scripture, and dissertations upon theological and ethical questions."³⁷ The society was apparently more of the debating type than of the devotional. The early record books of this society were destroyed in the fire of 1836, so that only the records of 1836-1846 are extant.³⁸ It seems probable, although not absolutely proved, that the Theological Society continued from at least 1807 to 1846. The Record Book of a later society ("The Praying Circle"), for July 7, 1824, states that "the meeting of the Society was deferred on account of the anniversary of the Theological Society."³⁹ Whatever may be the facts about its continuity, it apparently did not exert the practical influence on the religious life of the college associated with its later contemporary, The Praying Circle.

Another student society of this decade was the Philadelphian Society of Middlebury, organized in 1808. The constitution and records of this society are not now available. There is, however, a book containing a summary of questions discussed and decisions beginning November 18, 1808, and continuing through June 1, 1811. Without exception these questions are highly theological—in fact the most theological of any discussed in these early societies. There seems to be no other intimation regarding

³⁶ Records of Saturday Evening Religious Society, August 11, 1805.

³⁷ E. C. Smyth, *Discourses upon the Religious History of Bowdoin College*, pp. 11-13.

³⁸ Record Book of Theological Society (Bowdoin MS).

³⁹ Record Book of Praying Circle, July 7, 1824 (Bowdoin MS).

the character of this early life of the society. The letters written to other societies between 1815-1820 throw considerable light on its later life.

The most highly-multiplying religious influences of this decade came from the religious movements at Williams College, beginning with the Theological Society but centering in what is popularly known as the Haystack Movement and the Brethren. These events at Williams and the subsequent resulting movements at Andover (beginning in 1810) were so important to the story of religious movements in American colleges that they are dealt with more fully in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

YOUTH POSSESSED BY DREAMS

THE most significant of these early student religious movements was that at Williams College. Williams received its charter in 1793, a year of the French Revolution and also the year that Carey and his associates began the work of modern missions—two movements having the same battle cry of brotherhood, one being destructive in its methods, the other constructive. These contending ideas of brotherhood struggled for ascendancy on the Williams College campus as among students everywhere. Infidelity became rampant even to the point of persecution. Ridicule and abuse were heaped upon any student who showed signs of turning toward Christianity. "During the first seven years of the existence of the college (in which ninety-three graduated in six classes) there were but five professors of religion."¹

With the first years of the nineteenth century a new era began. A great revival, beginning in Litchfield County, spread through sixty congregations in contiguous counties and brought to Williams two students—James W. Robbins and James W. Cannon, who in this revival "had obtained a hope." These with four entering students (1801), who also had been converted by this revival, kindled fires of religious interest among their fellow students that proved to be a turning point in the religious life of the institution.² Under the leadership of this little group, meeting for prayer in the home of a Mrs. Bardwell, a religious awakening was experienced during the college year of 1805-06 that stirred many in the college. At the same time a revival in the local

¹ Pres. Edward D. Griffin, "Sermon Preached at Dedication of the New Chapel" (1828), p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20. For an account of the Litchfield County Revivals, see *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. I (1800), p. 27.

church, led by Rev. Mr. Swift "extended some influence to the college where five began to hope."³

Such was the atmosphere on the Williams College campus when Samuel J. Mills, Jr., the son of Rev. Samuel J. Mills, of Torrington, Connecticut, a well-known and beloved minister, entered in April, 1806, taking up his studies in the middle of the freshman year. Samuel Mills was one of seven children, and had been brought up in a deeply religious home. His father had been one of the leaders in the religious awakening that was shaking that part of Connecticut. His mother was a woman "of very exemplary character and preëminent piety," whose beautiful Christian spirit made a permanent impress on the life of her son.⁴ Even more than his father she had been his confidante and had helped him through his many doubts and difficulties. She had taught him to think of the whole world as belonging to Christ and from her lips he had heard of Eliot, Brainerd, and other missionaries. In his childhood his mother "consecrated him to the work of missions."⁵ Before going to Williams Samuel Mills had studied at Morris Academy, where his religious life and missionary interest had deepened. Once, on returning from Morris, he told his father that he "could not conceive of any course in which to pass the rest of his days that would prove so pleasant as to communicate the Gospel salvation to the poor Heathen."⁶

Mills' physical appearance was against him. His skin was sallow, his eyes not brilliant, his voice not clear, but he kept himself well and was studiously neat in his appearance. He was never a great scholar, but possessed an amazing capacity for taking the leadership in prophetic enterprises and having men who were even more able than he follow him. Timothy Woodbridge, who in 1810 was his roommate at Andover, said of him: "Mills is an extraordinary man, and I love him amazingly. I had no conception when I first met him of his being such a man as I very soon found him to be, while we were roommates. He has an awkward

³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴ Gardiner Spring, *Memoirs of Samuel J. Mills* (1820), p. 11.

⁵ Timothy Woodbridge, *Autobiography of a Blind Minister* (Letter to his brother 1810), p. 80.

⁶ Gardiner Spring, *Memoirs of Samuel J. Mills* (1820), p. 18.

figure and ungainly manner and an unelastic and croaking sort of voice; but he has a great heart and great designs. His great thoughts in advance of his age are not like the dreams of a man who is in a fool's paradise, but they are judicious and wise." ⁷

Mills quickly united with the group of students who were holding "a prayer meeting over the Hoosic, a distance from the college, to pray for a revival among the students." The leader of this group was Algernon S. Bailey, a member of the junior class. So strenuous were his prayers that he became a "terror to the wicked," and they threatened to mob him. He was known as "Bailey, mighty in prayer." The meeting place had been selected outside the college, "it being supposed that such a meeting could not be held in college without interruption and ridicule." ⁸ Because of the depth and sincerity of his own religious life, Mills very quickly became a leader in this group. No man was more sought after than he by those who were concerned about their personal religious life and no one was more active in efforts to arouse the indifferent. So pronounced was the religious awakening centering in this little group that "some in all classes shared in it. It brought religion into the ascendant. The institution of the Theological Society was one of the fruits of it." ⁹ Mills reflects this student religious interest and activity in an entry made at this time in his diary: "June 26, 1806. Attended

⁷ Timothy Woodbridge, *Autobiography of a Blind Minister* (Letter to his brother, 1810), pp. 79-80.

⁸ D. A. Wells and S. H. Davis, *Sketches of Williams College*, p. 93.

⁹ Calvin Durfee, *History of Williams College*, p. 117. Quoting a letter from an unnamed member of this group. The writer has been unable to find any of the early records of the Theological Society. Its organization probably preceded by two years the date implied in this quotation. In a publication entitled *The Mills Theological Society* (1853) there is a "catalogue of members from 1804-1853." This pamphlet also contains a short sketch of the society in which Prof. Albert Hopkins says: "In the year 1804 a Society was constituted in form and duly organized. Its object was to foster a spirit of theological inquiry as well as a spirit of piety among its members." The evidence makes clear that this society, organized in 1804, was active at least during the next few years. The earliest contemporary evidence of the activity of this society seems to be letters found by the writer in the Brown University archives. These were sent by the Theological Society to the Praying Society at Brown on August 10, 1815, and April 18, 1816.

conference this evening composed principally of the Freshman Class. A very good meeting. Many very solemn— It was very evident God was striving with some of his disobedient creatures.”¹⁰

On Wednesday afternoons in the spring and summer this group “used to retire for prayer—to the bottom of the valley south of the west college and on Saturday afternoons when they had more leisure to the remote meadows on the banks of the Hoosack River.” One hot sultry August afternoon five members—Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, Francis L. Robbins, Harvey Loomis, and Byron Green—met in the maple grove. Robbins and Green were sophomores; the others were freshmen. Scarcely had they begun their meeting when dark clouds appeared in the west followed by flashing lightning and rolling thunder. The group, fearing a heavy shower, ran toward the college buildings, but the storm proved to be but a shower and passed over before they reached the campus, leaving the sun shining as before. The fleeing students, noting the rapid disappearance of the storm clouds, dropped by a haystack for shelter and there continued their meeting. As on many previous occasions, Mills turned the discussion toward the missionary obligation resting upon all who called themselves followers of Jesus. It was not a popular subject, for up to that time there were no American foreign-missionary sending societies, and the British sending societies were but a few years old. The American Church had been so completely occupied with its own task of subduing the wilderness and with its missionary service to the Indians that the world-wide implications of Jesus’ missionary commands had little place in the counsels of its leaders.

The conversation of these students turned to Asia. They were impressed with what they believed to be the intellectual and spiritual darkness and moral degradation of these lands; and Mills, for the first time, proposed to the group that these lands would never be Christianized unless Christian students were ready to put their lives into foreign missionary service. Because of his home training this conviction had long been growing in his mind

¹⁰ Gardiner Spring, *Memoirs of Samuel J. Mills* (1820), pp. 21-22.

He proposed that they challenge the American Church to an interest in foreign missions by then and there giving their lives to God for foreign missionary service. He suggested that their prayers for missions would mean very little unless they themselves were willing, if God should call them, to give their lives as foreign missionaries. As they discussed Mills' proposal the conviction grew upon all but one of the group that this was a God-inspired proposal. Loomis felt that the movement was premature. He contended that these countries should be civilized before they could be Christianized. He also thought that it was a foolhardy proposal because missionaries endangered their own lives and what was really needed was a "new crusade" before real missionary work could be done. Mills answered these objections and then appealed to the group to join him in a dedication of life to foreign missionary service saying: "We can do this if we will. Come, let us make it a subject of prayer under the haystack while the dark clouds are going and the clear sky is coming." Bowed in prayer, these first American student volunteers for foreign missions willed that God should have their lives for service wherever He needed them and in that self-dedication really gave birth to the first student missionary society in America.¹¹

Although the group had no formal organization, yet during the next two years it met frequently and through its influence led others to dedicate their lives to foreign missionary service—one of the most influential of these being Gordon Hall, a brilliant student and valedictorian of his class (1809).

Stirred by their success, the group formally organized, on September 7, 1808, the "Society of Brethren," its object being "to effect in the persons of its members a mission or missions to the heathen."¹² As in the Yale Moral Society and Adelphei Theologia, its members took an oath "to solemnly promise to keep inviolably secret the existence of this society."¹³ No person was

¹¹ Thomas C. Richards, *Life of Samuel J. Mills*, pp. 30-31.

¹² Constitution of The Brethren (Harvard-Andover Theological Library MS), Article 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Article 5.

to be admitted who had any future obligations that would be incompatible with his "going on a mission to the heathen."¹⁴ "Each member shall keep absolutely free from every engagement, which, after his prayerful attention, and after consultation with the brethren, shall be deemed incompatible with the object of this society; and shall hold himself in readiness to go on a mission when and where duty may call."¹⁵ The members were also required to express "a firm belief in those distinguishing doctrines commonly denominated evangelical."¹⁶ The records of the society were written in cipher. The primary reason for secrecy was the indifferent and hostile attitude of a Church which could see in foreign missions only overheated religious zeal and fanaticism. The first signers of the Constitution were Samuel J. Mills, Ezra Fisk, James Richards, John Seward, and Luther Rice, against whose names is the date 1808. Gordon Hall's signature does not appear until 1811.¹⁷

The element of secrecy and the difficulty of selecting a name throw some light on the character of Mills and the atmosphere of the times. Mills first proposed that the society should be called "The Rising Sun" (*Sol Oriens*). The first record of the society uses this name and is as follows: "The members of the S.O. society met and signed the const. Chose Mills, Pres., E. Fisk, Vice Pres., and Kenny, Secretary."¹⁸ That the name was related to practices of the society may be judged from the following record: "Resolved that we will every Sabbath morning, at sunrise, address the throne of grace, in behalf of the object of our Society Nov. 9, 1808."¹⁹ When Mills discovered that *Sol Oriens* was the designation of some Masonic Lodges and therefore not appropriate, he proposed "Unitas Fratrum." Soon he found that this title had been appropriated by the Moravians. He then sug-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Article 5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Article 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Article 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Record Book, The Brethren (Harvard-Andover Theological Library MS).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

gested that "the society should be called simply 'Brethren'—with this all were very much pleased."²⁰

Mills seems to have been influenced in making the society a close-knit secret brotherhood by his feeling that the Brethren existed as a kind of challenge to the atheistic Illuminati then spreading from France into this country. "Among the instructions," he said, "given to the initiated by the hierophant of the Illuminati is the following, 'Serve, uplift, and mutually support each other, augment our numbers.' If the Devil has put an engine into our hands (trusting in God for assistance) let us turn it against him, and wield it like skillful engineers. Let us be more cautious in our admissions of M (members) than ever the Illuminati."²¹

One of the most significant of the ambitions cherished by Mills at this time was his desire that the society at Williams be the center for the creation of an intercollegiate missionary organization. For this purpose one of their number took a "dismissal" and joined Middlebury College. Mills himself had made up his mind to transfer his relation to Yale College with the same design; and actually made a journey to New Haven to explore the ground, but for some reasons became discouraged. Attempts to introduce the society into Union and Dartmouth Colleges ended in failure.²² Mills' trip to Yale led to important friendships, including that with the Hawaiian student Obookiah, but there were no immediate results so far as organization was concerned. However, the Societies of Missionary Inquiry of the next two decades resulted indirectly from the activity of the Brethren or from the missionary impulse given to the church by them.

Following his graduation from Williams in 1809, Mills "became a resident graduate a few months at Yale College"—"his ostensible object" being "the study of theology; but his real object, the discovery, exciting, and encouraging of some kindred spir-

²⁰ Calvin Clark, *The Brethren* (Harvard-Andover Theological Library MS).

²¹ Samuel J. Mills, Letter to John Seward, March 20, 1810 (Williams College MS).

²² President Edward Griffin, "Sermon Preached at Dedication of the New Chapel" (1828), footnote, p. 24.

its.”²³ There he won the friendship of Asabel Nettleton and these two agreed “to avoid all entangling alliances and to hold themselves in readiness to go to the heathen whenever God, in his providence, should prepare the way.”²⁴ They further agreed to continue their theological studies at Andover. Nettleton was prevented from doing this but Mills, together with Gordon Hall and James Richards, entered Andover for theological work in 1810.

Andover Seminary—the third theological seminary to be founded in this country and at this time a new institution—visualized the protest of the evangelicals of New England against the growth of the Unitarian movement and particularly its control of Harvard. In a special way it was also an expression of the new-found missionary interest of the church. Some time between April and July, 1810, Ezra Fisk brought with him to Andover the cipher records of the Brethren, and the society began an existence there which continued through 1870—the last record being for December 12, 1870.²⁵ It quickly added to its membership other kindred spirits, most prominent among them Adoniram Judson of Brown, Samuel Nott, Jr., of Union College, and Samuel Newell of Harvard. The Brethren quickly became indigenous to the intercollegiate life of the Seminary. It seems probable that the Brethren also continued at Williams for several years, but that is not clearly established. At Andover as at Williams, Mills’ missionary exertions constituted his relaxation from study; he might always be found, during his leisure hours, “arm in arm with one or more of his fellow students, either provoking many, or renewing former suggestions, or pressing the obligation to missions on their conscience by considerations well nigh irresistible.”²⁶ As they carried on their studies and discussions of their chosen missionary careers, the most baffling problem confronting them was how they were to get to the mission-

²³ Gardiner Spring, *Memoirs of Samuel J. Mills* (1820), p. 31.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Calvin Clark, *The Brethren* (Harvard-Andover Theological Library MS).

²⁶ Gardiner Spring, *Op. Cit.*, p. 34.

ary field, since there were no American foreign missionary societies.

Several of the men proposed that they be sent out by the London Missionary Society and even went so far as to correspond on the subject. Mills vigorously opposed this, saying that the American churches should send them. These discussions finally crystallized in a petition to the General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts, presented at their meeting at Bradford, June 27, 1810. The petition was signed by Judson, Nott, Mills, and Newell. It had been planned at first that other members of the group also sign their names to the petition but these names were left off lest the association be alarmed at the expense involved in the sending of six men. In this petition the students stated their conviction with regard to the importance of "personally attempting a mission to the heathen" and stated further that they considered themselves "devoted to this work for life, whenever God, in his providence, shall open the way." They asked whether they might expect "patronage and support from a missionary society in this country, or whether they must commit themselves to the direction of a European society."²⁷ This petition made a profound impression. A committee of three appointed to consider it reported the next day in favor of the institution of a "board of commissioners for foreign missions" for the purpose of "devising ways and means and adopting and prosecuting measures for promoting the spread of the gospel in heathen lands."²⁸

Thus in four years the missionary movement, born in the prayers and self-dedication of the Haystack Group, had spread to other colleges and awakened the churches to their foreign missionary responsibility, resulting in the creation of this first American Foreign Missionary Sending Society. Two years later, February 6, 1812, at Salem, Mass., the first five missionaries were ordained—Nott, Judson, Hall, Newell, and Rice. Mills, "who had not completed his theological education," was not examined with

²⁷ Gardiner Spring, *Memoirs of Samuel J. Mills* (1820), pp. 38-39.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

the others.²⁹ The sermon charge and Right Hand of Fellowship were "delivered before a crowded and deeply affected auditory."³⁰

Newell, Judson, Hall, Nott, and Rice sailed for Calcutta in 1812. Mills was detained because of the desire of the American Board to have his help in awakening missionary interest in the churches and in the carrying forward immediately of some missionary enterprises in America. On June 21, 1815, Mills, already having achieved a reputation as a home missionary, was ordained with a group of Andover friends in Newburyport. The impression made on other students by this missionary ordination is vividly portrayed in a letter sent by Andover students to members of the "Praying Society at Brown University."³¹ They said:

"Perhaps you have not received a particular account of the late ordination of the missionaries at Newburyport. The number was six: Messrs. Mills, Richards, Warren, Bardwell, Meigs, & Poor. They have all been members of this Seminary: two belonged to the last class. We think they are men in whom the christian public may place a high degree of confidence, & who bid fair to become faithful, laborious & successful ambassadors of Christ among the heathen. It is expected that five of them will sail, some time in August or September, for Jaffera in the island of Ceylon. Mr. Mills will remain longer in this country. Messrs. Meigs & Warren, who were designated to a Western Mission, will probably go to the East. The ordination excited general attention in many towns in this vicinity. The Professors & most of the members of this Seminary attended. The exercises of the day were appropriate & deeply interesting. A meeting was held for prayers at 7 in the morning. Between 8 & 11 A.M. the candidates were examined: the usual exercises of ordination were performed between 11 & 3 P.M.—Then after a short recess the professed friends of Christ returned to celebrate the Lord's Supper. They were sufficiently numerous to fill all except the border-pews in a very large meeting-house. The galleries, border-pews &

²⁹ Leonard Woods, "Ordination Sermon" (1812), p. 6.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³¹ Letter dated July 22, 1815, from Ebenezer Burgess for Committee of Brown University Alumni at Andover to Praying Society of Brown University (Brown University Ms).

doors, were crowded with attentive spectators. We never witnessed such a scene before & may never again. Many christians were greatly animated, & many others were seriously impressed. Few could be uninterested during the ordination while they saw six young men consecrated to a work, which would require their separation from their friends & native land. Few could suppress the inquiry suggesting itself in their minds, what is the object of the mission? what are the motives of the candidates? what consolations can support them under expected trials? what rewards will compensate for these acts of self-denial? And few could avoid the answer, that the christian religion is a divine reality, which rules in the hearts of others if it does not in our own, & which affords abundant consolations to sustain its possessor in every trial.—Probably impressions were made on the minds of some young men, who will in due time consecrate themselves to this good work.—We have no idea that the work of evangelizing the heathen, whether in the East or West, will ever cease, before the christian religion becomes universal, & supplants every other. We have no idea that the benevolent spirit which begins to infuse vital warmth in the heart of the christian world, will ever become extinct; while the commands of the gospel & the calls of providence are so imperious. It is not a transient impulse: it is not an unreasonable fervour. A regard to the final command of Christ & Love to the souls of men, will produce greater effects than have yet been witnessed. The flame, which is only enkindled, will burn with more purity & brightness.”³²

Mills never realized his desire to be a foreign missionary, yet it is doubtful if any American ever exerted so great an influence in the cause of missions. In 1818 Mills, freed from other responsibilities, made a journey of exploration to Africa which was to be the beginning of his career as a foreign missionary. On the return journey to America to report results he was seized with a fatal illness and on Monday afternoon, June 15, 1818, quietly entered into rest. Many times Mills had said, “Though you and I are very little beings, we must not rest satisfied until our influence is felt to the remotest corner of this ruined world.”³³

³² Letter from Andover to Praying Society of Brown University, July 22, 1815 (Brown University MS).

³³ Gardiner Spring, *Memoirs of Samuel J. Mills* (1820), p. 25.

At sunset his body was committed to the ocean whose waves have since borne tens of thousands of American college students to every race and nation of the world to proclaim the good news of Jesus for which Mills laid down his life. Said Mark Hopkins, "the perfect man and the perfect teacher": "Luther and Bacon and Newton and Carey and Samuel J. Mills set fires and he who does that, does something for the race even though that which kindled the blaze was but a spark and was lost in the brightness and glow of the succeeding years"³⁴ . . . that such a movement should have originated with the undergraduates of a college at a time when there was so much in the world to excite the youthful imagination and fire ambition and distract the mind—when Europe was quaking under the tread of men of destiny and this country was fearfully excited by political divisions—could only be accounted for from the special agency of the spirit of God."³⁵

Samuel Mills' dream of an intercollegiate missionary society was an idea born ahead of its time. Williams, at the time of the Mills group, had a student body of less than seventy and college property consisting of two large plain brick buildings, and the president's house. There were but twenty-five colleges in the country and of these only a few enrolled as many as one hundred students. What was true of Williams was true in a greater or lesser degree of most of the twenty-five colleges then in existence excepting, of course, the few in larger cities such as Harvard, Yale, and King's College (Columbia).³⁶ With no telegraph, no railroad service, very slow and infrequent mail service and difficult stagecoach service, it is quite clear that the chance of intercommunication, except by slow mail, was very small. The Mills group were youths possessed by a great dream and against impossible odds they worked for the realization of that dream.

The student societies that followed the Mills group between 1810 and 1850 were largely the result of the growing interest of the Church as a whole in the problem of world-wide evangelism. The lighted torch passed on by the Haystack Group not only set

³⁴ Mark Hopkins, "Address to the Society of Alumni" (1843), p. 27.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³⁶ Calvin Durfee, *History of Williams College*, p. 20.

afame the missionary passion of the American church but also kindled the fires of missionary interest in the hearts of many small groups of students and directly led to the creation of the intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association, with the Student Volunteer Movement as their channel for missionary activity.

CHAPTER V

STUDENT RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES—1810-1858

SECTION A:

ANDOVER SOCIETY OF INQUIRY

THE transplanting of the Williams Society of Brethren to Andover was, from the standpoint of Samuel Mills' interest in the spread of Christian student societies, of vastly greater consequence than any one at the time could have realized. Andover was the "strong tower of defense" for evangelical Christianity and with the missionary awakening centering about the activity of the Brethren it also became the great propagating center for missionary intelligence and conviction. Nothing short of the passionate convictions born of this combined evangelistic and missionary experience would have been adequate as soil for the nurture and growth of movements that could meet the highly passionate and well-organized onslaughts of materialism and atheism. The seminary was, therefore, a fine type of intercollegiate Christian student fellowship—a fact which accounts for its great influence on college religious societies during the second decade of the nineteenth century. The students who came from the colleges to Andover in these early years represented the highest range of ability found among men then preparing for the ministry. They were the students who believed it was better to go through with the discipline of thorough preparation rather than to prepare by "reading theology" with a minister or other tutor.¹

We have seen the influence of the Brethren in awakening the Church to its foreign missionary responsibility. The Brethren continued as an organization in Andover, recruiting students for

¹ This subject was frequently debated in student religious society meetings from 1800 to 1820.

foreign missionary service until 1870. The last meeting record is for December 12, 1870. The last membership signature is that of Horace H. Leavitt, May 27, 1872. The society had 527 members in the sixty-four years of its existence—about 50 per cent of whom saw foreign missionary service. All of the records for its sixty-four years of existence are in one small record book,² the laconic entries giving almost no hint of the character or activities of this society. The original purpose "*to effect in the persons of its members a mission to the heathen*"³ seems to have remained unchanged. In the Brethren and some branch societies organized at Princeton, Auburn, and several other seminaries⁴ are found the model for the later "pledged band" of the Student Volunteer Movement (1888) and the reason for the Brethren continuing to exist alongside other student organizations with religious and missionary interest.

Contrary to the view generally held, the tremendous missionary and intercollegiate religious activity emanating from Andover between 1810 and 1830 was not the work of the Brethren but of another Andover student organization—"the Society of Inquiry on the subject of Missions," "formed in Divinity College, January 8, 1811."⁵ That the purposes and scope of activity were not regarded as conflicting with that of the Brethren is evidenced by the fact that the second name on the list of charter members is that of Samuel J. Mills and that seven of the nine charter members were also members of the Brethren. Moreover, of the twenty-three members of the Brethren from 1808 to 1812 all but seven were also members of the Society of Inquiry.

That Mills and the Brethren were responsible for the organization of this second society there can be no doubt. These students were burdened with the desire to obtain and diffuse in-

² Record Book Society of Brethren, September 7, 1808, to December 12, 1810 (Harvard-Andover Library Ms).

³ Constitution of Brethren, Article 2 (Harvard-Andover Theological Library Ms).

⁴ See Calvin Clark, *The Brethren*, pp. 1-12 (Harvard-Andover Theological Library Ms).

⁵ Society of Inquiry Constitution, By-Laws, Members, Records, Vol. I (Harvard-Andover Theological Ms).

formation on the subject of missions. According to Jacob Ide, one member of the group, "this subject lay with great weight" upon their minds. They were anxious to know what was their personal duty. They conversed much on the subject with each other and with other members of the seminary . . . "*The Spirit of Missions was there . . . turning the attention and hearts of the students to the condition of the perishing heathen.*"⁶

They gave the following as their motive for organizing the society: "Feeling the importance of a more extensive acquaintance with the subject of missions to enable us to ascertain our duty, and prepare us to promote the glory of our Redeemer and the eternal happiness of our fellow men; we, the undersigned, looking to our Heavenly Father for direction, do form ourselves into a society."⁷ They further said that "the object of this Society shall be to inquire into the state of the Heathen; the duty and importance of missionary labors; the best manner of conducting missions, and the most eligible places for their establishment."⁸

Membership in the society was open to "all who have been members of the college three months; who are professors of religion; and who, in the opinion of the Prudential Committee, give evidence of piety, and attachment to the cause of missions."⁹ That this society was not only influential in its early years but that it had a long history as a student society may be judged by the fact that its records are continuous from January 8, 1811, to May 23, 1913, excepting only the years 1823-1844.¹⁰

Of the early activity of the Society of Inquiry there is abundant contemporary evidence. At its meeting of organization the society issued a circular communication stating that they were establishing a missionary library and appealing for help "to the pious generosity of those who anxiously desire the salvation of

⁶ Elias Loomis, "History of the Society of Inquiry," in *Memoirs of American Missionaries* (1833), pp. 14-15.

⁷ "Constitution of Society of Inquiry," Preamble (Harvard-Andover Theological Society ms).

⁸ *Ibid.*, Article 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ A note on volume 3 of the "Record Books for the Society of Inquiry" says volume 2 covering this period was lost (Harvard-Andover Library ms).

the heathen." They further state that one of their members, "Mr. Adoniram Judson, who visits England on missionary business, will gratefully receive such donations as the liberal and pious shall be disposed to make."¹¹ The great significance of the visit of this ambassador from the Andover Society to England is reflected in some of the contemporary student letters. William Milne, writing on behalf of the students of the Missionary Seminary at Gosport, England (June 14, 1811), says, "No sooner had England groaned in sorrow to hear of the death of her Missionaries, than she heard your voices, Brethren, from the Western Continent saying, 'here are we, send us.' The sound filled her with joy and taught her to sing 'The Lord liveth, and blessed be my Rock.' With unspeakable pleasure did we hail the approach of your worthy Ambassador, the Rev. A. Judson and said, 'surely the Lord hath done great things for us.'"

Within a year the society issued an appeal in *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine*. They report that they are "much impressed with the consideration of the deplorable state of the pagan world and they were desirous of obtaining a more accurate knowledge of the present state of missions in pagan countries and the number of tribes or natives ignorant of the way of life and salvation, together with the difficulties which are inseparable from an attempt to spread the Gospel among them. As the theological library did not furnish all the information necessary for the thorough investigation of these subjects, they agreed to form themselves into a society for the purposes above specified."¹² They report that they have already collected two hundred dollars (one hundred of which Mr. Judson had secured from the London Missionary Society), and that they expect a profit of one hundred dollars from the sale of Dr. Buchanan's *Christian Researches*; but their "funds are not yet sufficient and (we) appeal to the liberal on whose favor the prosperity of the society in a great measure depends."¹³

¹¹ Elias Loomis, "History of the Society of Inquiry" in *Memoirs of American Missionaries* (1833), p. 18.

¹² *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine United*, Vol. IV, New Series, Boston (1812), p. 504.

¹³ *Ibid.*

The significance of this Andover Society for these studies is at the following points:

1. The amazing activity of this society stirred up both the churches and colleges to a lively interest in foreign missions. This gave to most of the student religious societies organized between 1810 and 1850 a missionary character and in a majority of cases led to their taking the name Society of Inquiry or Society of Inquiry on behalf of Missions. Something of the character and intensity of this missionary activity is reflected in the following quotation from a letter sent in 1825 by the society to the student missionary society of the Missionary Institution of Basle, Switzerland. After describing the general religious and educational situation, the Andover students said:

"But we have too long delayed to explain the object and character of the Society which addresses you. It was formed in the year 1811, by Samuel J. Mills (whose life we send you) and his associates when they had first conceived the magnificent scheme of American Foreign Missions. It embraces all the students in the Seminary. Its object is the promotion of Missionary knowledge and a true Missionary spirit here and in all the churches. It maintains a correspondence with all the American Missionary stations and with many of the Colleges and theological Seminaries in the United States. A correspondence is also kept up at intervals with the Secretary of the London Missionary Society and with the students at Gosport. It frequently publishes tracts, pamphlets and sometimes large books which are calculated to promote the good cause. The dissertations of its members read before the Society once in three weeks are commonly published in some periodical work which will give them an extensive circulation. It has done much good by keeping alive a spirit of Missions in this Seminary. Nearly thirty of its members have at different periods gone forth into the lands of darkness to carry the light of the Gospel. Before this letter reaches you, you will probably have heard that in November last a Mission Ship sailed from New Haven for the Sandwich Islands with three ordained Missionaries and their wives, two persons a man and a woman qualified to act as teachers and four of the natives educated at Cornwall. One of the ordained Missionaries was last year President of our Society. You

will also have learned that soon after two ordained Missionaries sailed from New York to join the Palestine Mission. These were both members of our Society. But it will probably be news to you that a young man who was last year one of us is preparing to sail in two or three months for South America. He goes to explore those wide regions on which the pure light of the Gospel never shone. He goes to the nations who have but just begun their political existence, to see whether something may be done to reduce them—not to the dominion of King Ferdinand but of King Jesus.”¹⁴

2. The society carried on the interests of Mills and the Williams group in spreading student religious societies. That this began very early may be judged from the following letter from Middlebury students to this Andover Society, dated June 12, 1811, six months after the organization of the Society of Inquiry. The letter, which clearly assumes earlier correspondence as well as the visit to Middlebury of Andover students, reads as follows:

“A few young gentlemen of this Institution, whose object, as they hope, is the good of souls, have been called to reflect of late, on the subject of missions. We feel it to be important, and the duty of some to carry the gospel to the poor heathen.

“Our knowledge on this subject is very small, and our views very immature. We have had the opportunity of conversing with some young gentlemen from Andover, especially Mr. —, from whom we have received some very interesting accounts.

“We wish to have you write to us respecting the duty of engaging in missions, and the qualifications of a missionary; the necessary preparations for the work, &c., together with all such instructions as you shall think necessary for us, in contemplating, and preparing for so important an undertaking.”¹⁵

The intercollegiate activity and interest is shown in a more dramatic way by the correspondence carried on by this society.

¹⁴ I am indebted to Pastor D. Alphonse Koechlin of Basle for invaluable assistance in finding this letter. The student signing it for the society was Leonard Bacon, for a half-century after his graduation from Andover one of the most prominent figures in American religious life, and grandfather of the late Professor Benjamin Wisner Bacon of Yale Divinity School.

¹⁵ Letter from Middlebury students to Society of Inquiry, Andover, dated June 12, 1811 (Harvard-Andover Library Ms).

This correspondence was not only intercollegiate, but also international. The writer has discovered in the archives of other universities in this country and abroad nearly one hundred letters sent by this society to students in other college religious societies between 1811 and 1840—most of them having been sent before 1825.¹⁶ Moreover, there are in the historical archives of the Harvard-Andover Theological Library more than 200 letters sent by other colleges to the Andover Society. The responsibility for carrying on this Andover correspondence was assigned to students in the society who were alumni of the different colleges. Thus the alumni of Brown carried on the correspondence with the Brown Praying Society, the Dartmouth alumni with the Theological Society, and the Harvard alumni with the Saturday Evening Society.

This intercollegiate correspondence and activity was undoubtedly the provoking cause for the organization of student societies in a number of colleges and theological seminaries between 1811 and 1820. From Princeton Theological Seminary (organized 1812) the society received the following letter dated Princeton, February 16, 1814.

"I have the pleasure of informing you, that a spirit for missions is beginning to appear, in the Theological Seminary, established in this place. A committee has been appointed to draft a Constitution, for a Society of Inquiry respecting Missions, *similar to the one at Andover*. This committee, of which I am one, is now deliberating. As an individual, I request, as soon as possible, a copy of the constitution of your Society, as a model for the one which we intend to form."¹⁷

3. Perhaps in no other way did this Andover Society in its early years do quite so much for other student religious societies as in the scope of its interests and activities. The seventeen vol-

¹⁶ The principal sources for these letters are the historical archives of Williams, Amherst, Dartmouth, Colgate, and Brown—the best collection being at Brown. None of this correspondence seems to be preserved at either Harvard or Yale.

¹⁷ Letter from Society of Inquiry on Missions, Princeton Theological Seminary, to Society of Inquiry, Andover, February 16, 1814 (Harvard-Andover Library MS).

umes of manuscript dissertations presented by members at society meetings between the years 1811 and 1830 pretty well run the gamut of the lively interests confronting the Christian community during these eventful years. The desirability of a missionary seminary in the United States was discussed in January, 1815.¹⁸ The question of slavery was a frequent subject for discussion, appearing as early as September 17, 1816¹⁹ and during certain years, notably 1822 and 1823, seeming to be a major question for the society.²⁰ It is worthy of special note that in this long list of dissertations there are no problems of a purely philosophical or theological character. They relate either to questions of world evangelization, moral and social reform, or to practical problems of Christian organization. The contrast here with the more speculative debating-society type of student religious organization is marked. By 1829 the society had four major lines of work, represented by its provision for committees on Foreign Missions, Domestic Missions, Colonization, and Seamen. Some of the reports of these committees are still available.²¹ The work of this society is also interwoven with the beginning of the American Bible Society, the American Education Society, and the activities of the Colonization Society. All of these interests, together with the passionate conviction regarding foreign missions, were involved in the correspondence with the other student religious societies of the period and in a marked way colored their thinking and activity.

It would be fair to say that something of the sense of encouragement and intercollegiate fellowship given to Christian student societies in later years (1877 on) by the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. was in this second decade of the nineteenth century given by Andover to struggling Christian student groups. Certainly this would be true of the first part of this decade, although from 1815 on these honors for stimulating intercollegiate fellowship must be shared with other societies and especially the Praying Society of Brown University.

¹⁸ Dissertations, Vol. II (Harvard-Andover Theological Library ms.).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. V.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI.

²¹ Harvard-Andover Theological Library ms.

SECTION B:

EXTENT OF STUDENT SOCIETIES—1810-1858

Stimulated by the intercollegiate activity of the Andover, Brown, and Dartmouth societies, voluntary student religious societies spread through the colleges and theological schools in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. A *Manual of American Colleges and Seminaries* published in 1856—two years before the organization of the first student Y.M.C.A.—listed 156 colleges and 46 theological seminaries.²² There has been no attempt made in this study to verify the student religious society history for this period in all of these institutions. The emphasis has rather been placed on getting an accurate picture of the student religious history in a few of the older New England colleges, which, it was hoped, would give some clue to the development of societies in other colleges. It is therefore all the more significant that in the trail of making this more intensive study of a few colleges the writer has found so much evidence of the existence of societies in other colleges. Through letters, diaries, and record books in the New England colleges there is evidence of between ninety and one hundred societies in seventy different colleges. There were societies in all of the nine Congregational colleges listed in this manual, in all but four of the twenty-eight Presbyterian colleges, and in twelve of the twenty-four Baptist colleges.²³ It is of some significance that in many of the colleges and seminaries organized between 1810 and 1858 students formed religious societies *within the first few years* of the life of the institution. The following list gives the date of the organization of a few of these colleges and the letter or other manuscript evidence of the existence of a student society within the early years of the institution's life.²⁴ No attempt has been

²² Z. Freeman, *Manual of American Colleges and Seminaries*, Rochester, 1856, pp. 5 and 43-45.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-29. List of colleges by denominations.

²⁴ The dates of college organization are taken from Z. Freeman, *Manual of American Colleges and Seminaries*, pp. 5 and 43-45. The letters are those sent to the Religious Society of the college and are in the historical archives of the college to which they were sent.

made to discover the date of organization of these societies; hence it is all the more significant of the place of these societies in the religious life of American colleges that the writer should have found correspondence of these societies at dates so close to the date of the founding of the college.

Princeton Theological Seminary (1812)

1813 Society of Inquiry (letter to Andover)

Union College (1795)

1815 Letter to Brown indicating two societies of several years' standing

Amherst (1821)

Auburn Theological Seminary (1819)

1822 Society of Inquiry (letter to Andover)

Colby (1820)

1822 Praying Society letter

Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary (Fairfax, Va., 1823?)

1825 Society of Inquiry (letter to Andover)

Western Reserve (1826)

1831 Society of Inquiry (letter to Andover)

Theological Seminary (Columbia, S. C.) (1828)

1831 Society of Inquiry (letter to Andover)

Newton Theological Seminary (1825)

1832 Society of Inquiry (letter to Brown)

Lafayette (1826)

1833 Brainerd Missionary Society

Lane Seminary (Walnut Hills, O.) (1828)

1834 Society of Inquiry (letter to Andover)

Gettysburg (1832)

1835 Society of Inquiry on Missions (letter to Andover)

Gilmanton Theological Seminary (1833)

1836 Society of Inquiry (letter to Andover)

Kenyon College (Gambier, O.) (1826)

1838 Society of Inquiry (letter to Andover)

Marietta College (1835)

1840 Society of Inquiry (letter to Andover)

Lewisburg, Pa. (Bucknell) (1849)

1850 Society of Inquiry (letter to Brown)

Beloit (1847)

1851 Society of Inquiry (letter to Williams)

Rochester (1850)

1851 Judson Society of Missionary Inquiry (records 1851-52)

The evidence is not conclusive as to the extent or continuity of student religious and missionary societies in European universities. The Andover letters give evidence of correspondence between 1810-1830 with student societies in the missionary institutions of Islington and Gosport in England, the Theological Missionary Association at the University of Glasgow (1824), the student missionary society at Basle, Switzerland (1825), and with Dutch missionary students at Rotterdam (1827). There are also letters from the students of the Mission House at Paris, although as Pastor Jean Bianquis points out, these were not university students "but young Frenchmen preparing for the missionary calling—peasants about twenty years old, quite uneducated except in a knowledge of the Bible."²⁵ At New College, Edinburgh, the writer found fourteen MS letters involving correspondence (1843-1870) between the Missionary Association at New College and similar societies at Princeton Theological Seminary, the theological students at the University of Geneva, Toronto Theological Seminary, Free Church College, Halifax, N. S., Knox College, Toronto, and Wingolfsbund, a Christian student corporation at Halle, Germany.

SECTION C:

TYPES AND NAMES OF STUDENT SOCIETIES

Up to 1858 voluntary student religious organizations developed along three main lines and when first organized these emphases were suggested by the names of the societies.

1. There was the theological society, which generally followed quite closely the form of life which later characterized the literary societies. The society was made up of a small group of members who met for "disputations," "dissertations," and "conversations." *Adelphoi Theologia* (Harvard, 1785), the Yale Moral Society (Yale, 1797), the Philadelphian Society (Middlebury, 1808), and Williams (1804), Bowdoin (1806), and Amherst

²⁵ Letter to writer from Pastor Bianquis, May 3, 1932.

(1826) Theological Societies were, in the main, of this type. Many of the Societies of Inquiry (1810-1850) seem to have carried forward the theological society tradition. In 1854, the University of Vermont Society for Religious Inquiry described its program thus:

"We meet on Friday evenings of each week. Order of exercises. 1st Calling the roll. 2nd Reading of scriptures & prayer. 3rd Reading the Journal of the last meeting. 4th Report of Committee of Oversight. 5th Dissertation upon some passage of Scripture previously accepted. 6th Written discussion, by the members, upon some moral or religious question previously accepted, followed by an extemporaneous debate by the society. 7th Decision of the question according to its merits by the society. 8th Miscellaneous business. 9th Adjournment. The meetings are closed with singing and prayer. The prayer at the opening or close by the President & the other by some member upon whom he calls. The question for discussion, and the passage for dissertation must have been previously accepted by the committee of Oversight."²⁶

2. There was the society that placed major emphasis on the nurture of the devotional life and vigorous practical evangelistic activity. Examples were the Praying Society (later the Religious Society) of Brown, the Praying Circle of Bowdoin, the Saturday Evening Society of Harvard, and the Theological Society of Dartmouth. These societies placed very little emphasis on debates and essays, their main interest being in religious fellowship, prayer, and the practical stirring up of revivals of religion. Dartmouth students in 1820 said:

"Our religious society, which is intended to include only those experimentally acquainted with religion, & consists at present of about 60, meets monthly to join in the concert of prayer, & weekly in the time intervening for improving in a knowledge of the Scriptures; & has at each meeting appropriate practical dissertations. Our occasions of social prayer for a revival here are frequent, & the spirit of prayer among us is perhaps increasing.

²⁶ Letter from the Society for Religious Inquiry in the University of Vermont to the Mills Theological Society at Williams, January 9, 1854 (Williams ms).

Tho' a dull season with us how happy the prospects, *how great the grace* in other parts of Zion—We hope you will write soon, & cheer us with pleasing religious news.”²⁷

3. The third type of society was the one which probably influenced student religious life more than either of the other two, namely, the foreign missionary society, generally taking the name of Society of Missionary Inquiry. We have seen how in the case of the Andover Society the organization drew together the home and foreign missionary interests and the devotional and evangelistic activities of the other societies. This does not mean that the interest in foreign missions was confined to the Societies of Missionary Inquiry. The letters sent by the other student societies express quite as vigorously a concern for the foreign missionary interest as do the letters from societies the names of which more loudly proclaim their missionary character. The Praying Society of Brown, writing to the Theological Society of Williams in 1816, said:

“The present is an interesting period. It loudly calls on Christians to arouse the latent energies of their minds and to use their united endeavours for the spread of the gospel. The unwearied and unparalleled exertion of Christians for a few years past have been wonderfully blessed in spreading the gospel among the heathen and in the out-pourings of the holy Spirit upon Christian nations. Scarcely a week passes without our hearing of some new revival of religion.”²⁸

It is, however, significant of the place of foreign missions in the thinking of Christian students that more societies from 1810 to 1858 took the name Society of Missionary Inquiry than any other name. Forty-nine of the seventy colleges to which reference has been made had societies using this name or Society of (Religious) Inquiry.

Regardless of name, it would not be fair to picture the characteristics of any of these societies as the same during the first half

²⁷ Theological Society of Dartmouth to the Religious Society of Brown University, April 11, 1820 (Brown MS).

²⁸ The Praying Society of Brown to the Theological Society of Williams, July 31, 1816 (Brown MS).

of the nineteenth century. They changed frequently with quality and interests of leadership in any given year and with the problems facing the Christian community. There is little evidence that many of the student missionary societies were as comprehensive in their interests or as effective as the Andover Society. The correct view seems to be that these three emphases— theological debates, devotional, and foreign missionary—represented the main lines of interest and activity on the part of student societies during this period. They were sometimes found in a single organization but more frequently in separate organizations or societies that combined two of these three aspects, such as the devotional and missionary.

It is also important to note that two or three kinds of student societies existed side by side in the same college. In the older colleges between 1820 and 1858 there was for most of the time a Society of Inquiry for foreign missions in addition to one other student society.²⁹

SECTION D:

INTERCOLLEGIATE AND INTERDENOMINATIONAL FELLOWSHIP

Prior to the organization of the Intercollegiate Department of the Y.M.C.A. in 1877 there were no established channels for intercollegiate fellowship and activity through organizations of Christian students. This does not mean, as has been popularly thought, that there was no sense of need, nor efforts made to satisfy the need, for such fellowship. Perhaps no one finding of this study is quite so important as the evidence it brings of a basic urge in these societies for fellowship that is intercollegiate, interdenominational, and international. The work done in the historical archives of the older colleges and universities has been rewarded by the discovery of more than five hundred manuscript letters which passed between student societies from 1810 to 1858—more than half of them being sent between 1810 and 1830,

²⁹ This was true at Yale, Brown, Dartmouth, Williams, Amherst, and Bowdoin. In Yale for a time the foreign missionary society was a pledged band like the Brethren.

when the student societies were beginning to be more general in the colleges.

How strong this sense of need for intercollegiate fellowship was may be judged from a few paragraphs taken from this early correspondence. "Thanks be to God," wrote the students of the Missionary Seminary at Gosport, England, June 14, 1811, "for the grand union of believers in Christ. No distance of place, difference of colour, or diversity of circumstances can prevent its exercise. It is Divine; and proceeds from a union of heart to the moral character of God."³⁰ Andover, in "soliciting" correspondence with the Dartmouth Theological Society, said: "We wish to preserve & increase the acquaintance we have already formed;—to learn statedly the condition of your Society; the state of religion in College. We wish also to acquaint you with whatever of an interesting nature comes to our knowledge; particularly with those things which pertain to our seminary."³¹

The evidence is clear that this correspondence was at the same time intercollegiate and interdenominational. These students were doing much more than seeking for hints from other colleges as to how to run their student organizations; they were reaching out across denominational, national, and racial barriers for that sense of solidarity and common cause which in times of greatest vitality has been the most motivating force in the spread of the Christian community. This is well stated in a letter sent in 1822 by the Society in the Church Missionary Institution in Islington, England, to the Andover Society. They said:

"Your letter which we received some months ago afforded us no small satisfaction. National prejudices and dissensions have separated our countries more effectually than the wide Atlantic which rolls between them. But the jealousies of contending nations must never be suffered to estrange from each other the children of God, much less ought they, when in addition to the consanguinity by grace they are descended from the same parent stock. The household of God being composed of believers

³⁰ Harvard-Andover Theological Library, MS letter.

³¹ Letter to Mr. John Nichols, student, Hanover. From Andover, March 22, 1814 (Dartmouth MS).

from every clime, kindred, and tongue, is independent of the kingdoms of this world, and is a spiritual family holy unto the Lord." ³²

A correspondence is more interesting when one can read both sides of it. On June 21, 1815, the Praying Society of Brown wrote to "Mr. Rodney G. Dennis or Mr. Phineas Pratt" of Bowdoin College a letter in which they said:

"Being convinced that we can obtain and communicate a certain portion of useful and interesting knowledge in no other way so well as by an epistolary correspondence with our Brethren in other Seminaries, we have resolved to propose such correspondence, with all the colleges in New England, and some in the Middle States, quarterly.

"We anticipate great benefits from these communications. God is doing wonders in some of these Colleges; and we are willing, not only to rejoice with those that rejoice, but to weep with those that weep. You have doubtless heard what wonders God hath wrought in Princeton College. We have just received a letter from Yale College, and are happy to give you some extracts from it. . . . We fondly hope here are sixty students, who, a short time since, were in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity, who now rejoice to declare what the Lord hath done for their souls." ³³

The response of the Bowdoin students to the Brown letter is typical. The following is quoted from the minutes of the Praying Society of Bowdoin:

"At a meeting of the professors of religion in *Bod* College, in Dennis room, for the purpose of establishing a society for prayr, Johnson was appointed to draft articles of a constitution, and *Brs* Dennis, Johnson, and Pratt a committee to answer letter recently received from the 'Praying Society' in Brown University, Providence. Dennis the writer." ³⁴

³² Harvard-Andover Theological Library, ms letter.

³³ Letter of June 21, 1815, from Praying Society of Brown University to Mr. Rodney G. Dennis or Mr. Phineas Pratt of Bowdoin (Brown ms).

³⁴ Record Book Praying Society of Bowdoin College, July (?), 1815 (Bowdoin ms). *Note:* The exact date is not clear—the meeting probably took place July 10th, since the next entry is July 17th.

One month later these Bowdoin students wrote to Brown, saying:

"We rejoice that you have formed yourselves into a social band, to unite in concert & wrestle with God if peradventure he will hear & answer. Previous to receiving your epistle we had met constantly on Sabbath morning at the ringing of the first bell, & continued till near the second. *Excited by your proposal we have since formed ourselves in to a Society denominating ourselves the Praying Society of, or in B. C.* Our officers are a President & Secretary. We have also agreed to join the monthly concert of prayer. It is not a little gratifying to us, to consider that, on that evening our Brethren in B. U. & in many parts of the world, are wrestling with our common Father at his throne. As for any very promising appearances here there are none. In College there seems to be more virulency against the truth. Our number of professors of religion is Six. If we see more humble, more engaged & more faithful, we should indulge more & stronger hopes that God was about to do something for us. We hold a conference in College on Saturday evening, attend one on Thursday evening in the village. We assure you this is a most wretched place. We have no settled minister. But the President, & one of the Tutors supply on the Sabbath."³⁵

How this intercollegiate corresponding impressed the Saturday Evening Society at Harvard may be judged from the following paragraph from a letter sent by Brown to Yale, October 21, 1815:

"We have likewise received a letter from our Christian Brethren at Harv. University, to whome we also proposed a correspondence. We have occasion to rejoice that the Lord Jesus has, even there, a remnant who worship him in spirit & in truth, as God over all blessed forevermore; & who believe in the divinity of Christ, & put their trust in his merits for salvation. The No. of these (14) is few, & their trials are many. They have a multitude to oppose & cannot meet for social prayer *openly*, but as it were in secret, for fear."³⁶

³⁵ Letter of August 14, 1815, to Praying Society, Brown (Brown Ms).

³⁶ Letter from Praying Society (Brown) to Samuel Ingersoll (Yale), October 21, 1815 (Brown Ms).

The larger number of these letters are among historical treasures of the libraries of Andover, the older colonial colleges and some of the older universities of Europe.³⁷ The writer has recently discovered seventy-nine letters at Colgate. All but eight are copies of letters sent by the Society of Inquiry of the "Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution" (Colgate) to other student societies or to missionaries.³⁸ They make no additions to the list of colleges sharing in this correspondence. They are, however, between the years 1833 and 1845, when there are few extant letters in the other colleges. They do therefore help to give a picture of more continuous intercollegiate correspondence than the New England college archives reveal.

The international character of this correspondence appears in the following excerpt from a letter sent in 1827 by the student society in the Church Missionary Institution at Islington, England: "We rejoice to hear of the existence of such a society as yours, and are so sensible of its excellency, and adaptation to the wants of missionary students, that we have formed a similar one amongst ourselves, for the purpose of maintaining a correspondence not only with your college at Andover, but with the Missionary Seminaries of Berlin, Paris, Rotterdam, Basle, and Glasgow."

Similarly, the Society of Inquiry of Princeton Theological Seminary, writing to Brown University in 1854, says: "As it has been our custom since the year 1813, when this society was organized, to correspond with societies kindred to ours in this country & in Europe; &, through sub-committees, with missionaries in all parts of the world, for the purpose of gaining missionary intelligence, strengthening our own hearts in holy zeal for our blessed Master's cause, & promoting love & sacred unity with our Christian brethren, without regard to Sect: therefore, we desire to open a correspondence with your Society, in which we will give you information regarding the state of piety &

³⁷ Consult Bibliography for list of these letters. They are classified according to the colleges where they are now to be found.

³⁸ There are many letters to missionaries among those preserved in the New England colleges. Generally these are not listed in the Bibliography for this study.

missionary spirit amongst us, & desire you may return similar intelligence."

So far as extant letters are a reliable guide, it would seem as though Andover and Brown took the major initiative in carrying on this intercollegiate correspondence between 1810 and 1830. From that point on it looks as though no two or three schools were at the center of this activity but that at least a half dozen—notably Amherst, Princeton, Andover, Brown, and Williams—took a great deal of initiative. In the years 1850-1858, just preceding the organization of the first student Y.M.C.A., the Societies of Inquiry at both Amherst and Andover seem to have sent a questionnaire to many colleges for the religious statistics of the college and a story of the activities of the student religious societies. The minutes from the record books of the Amherst Society of Inquiry are typical of this interest. On October 15, 1852, "the corresponding secretary was instructed to write the several colleges to inquire into their religious condition with a view to publishing same in some periodical." On January 4, 1853, "several letters were then read by Crowell from other Colleges after which it was resolved that a com. shld be apptd to prepare the letters received from other Colleges for publication."³⁹

The most complete and realistic account of the work of student religious societies in the years just preceding the organization of the student Y.M.C.A. is to be found in circulars on "The Religious Conditions of the Colleges" for the years 1856, 1857 and 1858.⁴⁰ These circulars contain reports from more than fifty student societies scattered through twenty-five states.

The existing society records and letters give ample proof of the participation of as many as seventy different colleges in this correspondence at some time between 1810-1858. That more thorough study of all the colleges during this period would reveal many more letters and probably more extensive correspondence there can be little doubt. Still, it is of importance to note

³⁹ Record Book Society of Inquiry, October 5, 1852 and January 4, 1853 (Amherst Ms).

⁴⁰ Andover Society of Inquiry Circulars "The Religious Conditions of the Colleges," 1856-57-58. Printed (Harvard-Andover Library).

that, except for two or three colleges, this seldom meant more than two or three letters in any one year. Judging from society-record books, as well as the dearth of letters in some years, there were periods when individual societies had no part at all in this correspondence. The extant letters suggest a more vigorous intercollegiate correspondence between 1810 and 1825, when Brown and Andover were propagating centers for it, than at any other time. Moreover, excepting for the isolated instances of visits to a few colleges on the part of the Mills group at Williams and at Andover, there seems to have been no other intercollegiate activity. As we shall see later, there is a vast deal of difference between limited, albeit vigorous, correspondence among college societies and creating an intercollegiate movement with its channels for intercollegiate fellowship and activity.

SECTION E:

PRAYER, REVIVALS, AND MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

We have seen the close connection between the evangelical revivals of the first two decades and the rise and spread of student religious societies. One cannot follow the records of these societies without being impressed with the way in which revivals were regarded as the supreme evidence of God's presence in a community. These students in most cases shared the assumptions of evangelical religion of the time. Writing to Williams in 1815, the Brown students said: "We did hope that God would open the windows of heaven upon this thirsty spot; but he is pleased to pass by at such a distance, that we feel but little of his influence. Undoubtedly, it would be mere repetition to name the glorious appearances at Princeton and at Yale."⁴¹ Several years later (1823), in the minutes of the Bowdoin Praying Society is this entry by the secretary, "Come Lord Jesus this way—visit this wicked College—overcome stubborn & rebellious hearts and prepare many for usefulness in this world and immortal happiness in the world to come."⁴² Much of the space in intercol-

⁴¹ Praying Society of Brown to Williams, June 25, 1815 (Brown MS).

⁴² Records of Bowdoin Praying Society, February 16, 1823 (Bowdoin MS).

legiate correspondence between 1810-1830 is largely taken up with accounts of revivals or bemoaning the "stupidity" and "coldness" of their own college. The record books of societies frequently print the picture as "at present dark and discouraging, Christians are stupid and disengaged"⁴³—wickedness abounds to an alarming degree and the love of Christians wanes cold. We need to be roused and excited to action."⁴⁴

In the spring of 1826 the members of the Theological Society of Dartmouth "felt themselves called upon by motives too powerful to be disregarded to arouse each other to prayer, fidelity, and active duty in the service of their Lord and Master."⁴⁵ From their activity a revival broke out, resulting in many "convictions, deep and pungent. We were astonished to see our thoughtless, gay, dissolute associates in the pursuits of literature brought upon their knees, at a Saviour's feet to plead for pardon and salvation. Upwards of twenty, so far as we can judge, give encouraging evidence of a saving change of heart. Several of those, who are now sitting at the Saviour's feet clothed and in their right mind, were a few months since in the very front ranks of his enemies."⁴⁶ As late in this period as 1856 the Amherst Society of Inquiry reported: "God has indeed remembered us in mercy during the past year. . . . Among those converted were some who trifled with sacred things; and resisted long the influences by which they were surrounded, and the strivings of the Spirit. . . . Our meetings are pretty well attended; though there are now no indications of God's special presence with us."⁴⁷

Much has already been said about the prayer life and devotional character of most of the early student societies. Some word needs to be said about the "Concert of Prayer For Colleges," out of which later grew the Universal Day of Prayer for Students.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, March 7, 1819.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, February 28, 1819.

⁴⁵ Dartmouth Theological Society to the Religious Society of Brown, April 2, 1826.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Andover Circular reporting religious condition of colleges, 1856 (Harvard-Andover Library).

Beginning about 1815 the New England colleges began to unite in various concerts of prayer. On June 17, 1815, a Committee of the Church of Christ in Yale College wrote to the Praying Society of Brown, saying: "We are happy to inform you that a concert of prayer for a revival of religion *in all the colleges in the U. States, is established in this, and some other Seminaries commencing at 9 o'clock* Lord's day morning. We hope it may meet your approbation to join with us at that time for the same glorious cause."⁴⁸

Andover writing to Dartmouth, August 12, 1815, said: "You have probably been informed of the concert of prayer held by the pious students in Yale, Williams, Brown, Middlebury, & Harvard Colleges, & also by the students in this place. It is held on Sabbath mornings to pray particularly for revivals in Colleges & public schools. It is not omitted during vacations. This with the distributions of religious tracts & other pious exertions of students in vacations has doubtless been blessed in many instances."⁴⁹

Shortly after this Brown writing to Bowdoin, said: "We believe all the colleges in our vicinity have joined the Sabbath morning concert of prayer, which was first proposed by our brethren in New Haven."⁵⁰

In the discussion of the Andover Society of Inquiry enough has already been said about the effect of the foreign missionary awakening on student religious societies. This foreign missionary interest seemed to have the effect of intensifying the sense of responsibility for evangelizing our own western frontier. Andover, writing to Brown on February 22, 1830, said:

"Dear Brethren: religion *must* become the ruling principle among our men of authority; our waste places *must* be supplied; our Western population *must* be evangelized, the heathen world *must* be converted. Where now shall we look for men? *Where shall we look for men?*—To our Theological Seminaries? Ah! Brethren, how *few* the labourers here for so great a harvest!! At our last Anniversary, we received 200 applications for ministers

⁴⁸ Letter from Yale College to Brown, June 17, 1815 (Brown ms).

⁴⁹ Letter from Andover to Dartmouth, August 12, 1815 (Dartmouth ms).

⁵⁰ Brown Praying Society to Phineas Pratt, Bowdoin, October 19, 1815.

to which we could give no attention, *for want of men. We must, dear Brethren, look for ministers and missionaries to our Colleges: to our 40 colleges.* Let us then look at these for one moment. There are about 3000 students connected with them; but not one-third of them are pious. 2200 at least are preparing—to do what? Some of them deny the truth of God's word; some of them are devoted to sinful indulgences; and others, although *moral men*, are yet preparing to stand up as monuments of indifference to the cause of Christ; sanctioning the oft-repeated slander that true learning is adverse to piety; that ignorance is the mother of devotion. And the *800 pious youth* of our Colleges—how small the number! Would God that we need say no more; but we are compelled to say, *how small their religious influence!*"⁵¹

This crusade for a Christian conquest of the world, whenever it really captured a society group, turned their attention from purely philosophical or introspective speculation to earnest study of the world, its needs, and the part that students must play in the giving of money and life to the cause. As early as March, 1819, the Dartmouth Theological Society voted that "the Society raise annually money sufficient to support at school a native boy of Ceylon, who shall be named Francis Brown."⁵² Later they voted "that the contributions for the support of the Heathen Youth be made on the first Monday of every month."⁵³

At Gettysburg College, the Society of Inquiry on Missions voted in 1835 "to educate a pious young man of color for the intellectual, moral, and social elevation of the free colored people in this country." The student chosen was Daniel Alexander Payne, who later became bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and president of Wilberforce University. His gratitude for this assistance was so great that when in 1886 he wrote *The Semi-Centenary of the African M. E. Church*, he dedicated the book to the faculty, alumni, and the Society of Inquiry on Missions of Gettysburg College. To them "he traced his enlarged

⁵¹ Historical archives, Brown University.

⁵² Records of Dartmouth Theological Society, March 29, 1819 (Dartmouth MS).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1819.

usefulness" and promised that by the aid of God he would never "betray their confidence." ⁵⁴

This missionary interest either colored the activity of the existing student religious society or before the half-century was over it led to the formation of separate student Missionary Associations. Organizations like the Societies of Inquiry at Amherst College ⁵⁵ and Madison University ⁵⁶ divided their membership into groups for study and correspondence with different sections of the missionary world. It is quite clear that many student societies throughout this period were little moved by the missionary awakening. This was more likely, however, to be true of the speculative and theological type of society than of the general devotional type.

SECTION F:

CONTEMPORARY INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Three great issues now occupied the attention of wide-awake students. These issues were: slavery, temperance, and what was regarded by evangelicals as the menace of Unitarianism. The student societies which seemed most affected by Unitarianism were those of Harvard, Bowdoin, and Brown. This problem has already been reflected in quotations from the correspondence of the Saturday Evening Society of Harvard. That the debate was nearly as vigorous at Brown may be judged from the following: "The state of religion in Providence is low, and what is worse, we have reason to fear, that error is spreading among its inhabitants, in no inconsiderable degree. Here our Savior is disrobed of his Divinity: and by those too of whom we have hoped better things. Brethren unite your prayers with ours, that the progress

⁵⁴ The author is indebted to Josephus Roosevelt Coan for this information, which is contained in an M.A. essay accepted (1934) by the Graduate Faculty of Yale University, entitled "Daniel Alexander Payne, Christian Educator."

⁵⁵ Record Book, Amherst Society of Inquiry: Minutes for February 24, 1854, March 16, 1855, and November 13, 1857 (Amherst ms).

⁵⁶ Letter from Madison University to Eastern Missionary Association, Williams College, December 16, 1856 (Williams ms).

of error among us may be checked.”⁵⁷ So bitter was the controversy that on September 23, 1826, President Messer of Brown drafted a letter of resignation in which he said that he could not “for all the offices in the world” “allow that there are more Gods than one; or deny that Jesus Christ is the Son of God—and I pray that God, who is our God, and also the God of Christ (here is all my heresy) may have in his holy keeping you and yours as well as me and mine.”⁵⁸ To evangelicals of 1934 this would seem sound and perhaps conservative doctrine, but this kind of doctrine from 1810 to 1830 split colleges and churches and influenced student societies.

The other two divisive issues—slavery and temperance—had their beginnings as real problems for the student societies during the decade of the thirties and grew in their intensity as this half-century moved on. So far as one can judge by contemporary letters and society records, most student religious societies moved on as though these issues did not exist—much as many student Christian Associations in 1934 seem unaware of the implications of Christianity for problems like war, the economic organization of society, and interracial relationships. There are, however, refreshing exceptions. The question of temperance was generally met by the organization of College Temperance Societies. The writer has made no attempt to ascertain how general these were. A Temperance Society was organized at Yale as early as 1826. In his private journal Caleb Lamson gives an interesting account of the rise of the temperance movement as he received it in a meeting of the Yale Temperance Society. This address by a Dr. Patton of New York was “very graphic and instructive.”⁵⁹

Amherst writing to Dartmouth, June 16, 1827 said: “One thing more, dear brethren, about our own country. Intemperance must be driven out of it, and as soon as possible. . . . Pub-

⁵⁷ Letter from the Praying Society of Brown University to Andover Society of Inquiry, November 11, 1818 (Harvard-Andover Theological Library).

⁵⁸ Reuben Guild, *Early Religious History of Brown*, p. 4 (Brown ms). This letter was never sent to the Brown trustees.

⁵⁹ Journal of Caleb Lamson, Yale College, December 15, 1845 (Yale ms).

lic sentiment on the subject must be reformed, so that those who distil, or sell, or drink, shall not feel that they are engaged in a necessary, lawful, worthy work, but in one that is bad, every way unworthy of a man, certainly a Christian man—a *wicked business*. We have a society of about 100. . . . Total abstinence, except when prescribed by a phys. as medicine.—Have you a Temperance Society?” At a meeting of the Theological Society of Dartmouth, April 16, 1827, steps were taken “to form a Society for the suppression of intemperance.”⁶⁰ At about the same time the Bowdoin Praying Society records that “a letter has been received from our Brethren at Andover recommending to us to form an association for the suppression of intemperance.”⁶¹ It seems quite likely that a number of other college temperance societies of the period were encouraged into existence by the activity of “the brethren at Andover.” On April 10, 1829, a Temperance Society was formed in the Maine Medical School at Bowdoin College.⁶² On June 25, 1835, the revised constitution of the Praying Society “required all members to abstain from intoxicating liquors, except wine at the Lord’s supper—or prescribed by a temperate physician.”⁶³

The slavery issue was not quite so easily handled and around it churches, colleges, and student societies split in the next three decades. It was one of the early subjects for the dissertations of the Andover Society of Inquiry.⁶⁴ It was discussed as early as 1810 by Adelphoi Theologia of Harvard.⁶⁵ At Yale it was vigorously discussed in the decade of the thirties by the Yale Moral Society⁶⁶ and the Yale Society for Christian Research. So deep was the interest of the Society of Christian Research in this prob-

⁶⁰ Records of Dartmouth Theological Society, April 16, 1827 (Dartmouth MS).

⁶¹ Record Book, Bowdoin Praying Society, April 1, 1827 (Bowdoin MS).

⁶² Records of Maine Medical School Temperance Society (Bowdoin MS).

⁶³ Constitution of Bowdoin Praying Society, 1835 (Bowdoin MS).

⁶⁴ Dissertations, Andover Society of Inquiry. See especially Vols. III, V, XVI, and XVII (Andover-Harvard MS).

⁶⁵ Record Book, Adelphoi Theologia, November 3, 1810 (Harvard MS).

⁶⁶ Record Book, Yale Moral Society: Minutes for March 17, 1825, November 15, 1831, February 5, 1833, December 9, 1835, November 30 and December 12, 1836 (Yale MS).

lem that Article III of its by-laws provided for a Committee on People of Color.⁶⁷ On December 20, 1828, this committee's report gave "some appalling statements respecting the slave trade."⁶⁸ The work of the agents of the Colonization Society and the appeal of the movement itself as a solution of the problem of slavery is evident in the records of several of the societies. On April 5, 1831, the resolution of a Committee of the Society of Christian Research was adopted recommending "it to every student who could to prepare a plea in behalf of the Africans in our country—and of the colonisation Society to be delivered in various comencem't places next 4th of July, & to raise funds to aid s'd Society in transporting to Africa such persons as wish to return." With the publication of the *Liberator* and dramatic activities of William Lloyd Garrison the naïveté of the colonization proposal began to dawn on thoughtful people. With this came disturbing events in the colleges as elsewhere. The excitement around the slavery issue was so intense that in a number of instances, as at Lane Theological Seminary (Cincinnati)⁶⁹ and Andover Theological Seminary⁷⁰ the trustees or faculty did everything in their power to prevent student discussion of the question. The drastic action of the Trustees of Lane Seminary "prohibiting the discussion of slavery among students; both in public and in private" resulted in four-fifths of the students leaving the Seminary in a body—most of them after a few months—going to Oberlin "to constitute the first theological classes."⁷¹ These Lane Seminary students reënforced a vigorous anti-slavery student group at Oberlin, with the result that on February 9, 1835, the Oberlin trustees voted "that the education of people of color is a matter of great interest, and should be encouraged and sustained in this institution."⁷²

⁶⁷ Constitution of Yale Society for Christian Research, 1825: By-laws, Article III (Yale ms).

⁶⁸ Record Book, Society for Christian Research, December 20, 1828.

⁶⁹ J. H. Fairchild, *History of Oberlin*, p. 22.

⁷⁰ W. S. Tyler, *History of Amherst*, p. 249.

⁷¹ James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin, The Colony and the College*, 1883, pp. 53-56.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

At Amherst a protesting student group fared less well. In the late summer of 1835 the college was split into two warring groups by the organization of a Colonization Society and an Anti-Slavery Society. Feeling that the college was not a "school of moral or political reform," the faculty requested that the students dissolve both of these organizations. The members of the Colonization Society complied, but the Anti-Slavery Society replied that they "could not conscientiously dissolve. The society had grown in a short time from eight to seventy-eight members—all but six of these" were professors of religion. Thirty of the number "had consecrated themselves" to foreign missionary work and twenty to home missions—many of these decisions having been made as the direct result of the activity of this society.⁷³ Their meetings and discussions were "in the main dignified and eminently Christian, though always earnest and animated."⁷⁴

In October, 1834, the society was summoned in a body to meet President Humphrey, who requested that it "at once and immediately disband" because its work was "alienating Christian brethren,—injuring the cause of religion and threatening in many ways the prosperity of the college."⁷⁵ After much "prayer and deliberation" the society decided that they could not, as Christians and as men, take the responsibility for disbanding. In a memorial addressed to the faculty couched in terms of "greatest respect and even tenderness" they said, "we cannot conscientiously disband and relinquish the right of inquiring into, discussing, and praying over the suffering and woes of more than 2,000,000 of our population."⁷⁶

The faculty response to this respectful petition was one of approval for continuance with very limited functions—"chiefly for prayer"—with no addresses, discussions, or membership activity. So resentful were many students outside the society of this action that they "besieged the door of the Secretary's room and

⁷³ W. S. Tyler, *History of Amherst College*, p. 246.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 247-48.

bursting it open found the constitution and subscribed their names to the list of members.”⁷⁷

The society again refused the faculty conditions with the result that the faculty ordered the suppression of the society. In reporting this decision President Humphrey said:

“We fully accord with the opinion recently expressed by the whole body of faculty in the Andover Theological Seminary that on the present agitated state of the public mind it is inexpedient to keep up any organization under the name anti-slavery, colonization, or the like in our literary and theological institutions. This we believe is coming to be more and more the settled judgment of the enlightened and pious friends of these Institutions throughout the country. Indeed, we are not aware that any such Society as yours now exists in any respectable college but our own in the land.”⁷⁸

After another long spirited meeting, the society bowed to the authority of the college and ceased to exist. The cause was not wholly lost, however, for in less than two years it reappeared, this time with “the express permission of the Faculty.”⁷⁹

SECTION G:

STUDENT RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES PRIOR TO 1858

This chapter has given a survey of certain aspects of student religious society life from 1810 to 1858. It has at no point made the claim that these characteristics were true of all societies at any one time in the period or of any one society for all of the time. It has rather given a few hints of things one could find to be true of some societies at different times during this period. Then, as now, high achievement on the part of any one society tended to give direction and color to the activities of others. This tendency was assisted especially by the early evidence of intercollegiate movement consciousness as expressed by the intercollegiate correspondence. From the standpoint of the larger study

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

to which this is introductory the most important facts coming out of these studies of societies prior to 1858 would seem to be:

1. A strong presumption that from earliest American college days groups of Christian students have tended to unite in voluntary Christian student societies—this voluntary society idea being indigenous to the college world and true to the nature of the religion of Jesus.

2. That the main strands of later student society life—theological (discussional), devotional, and missionary find their beginnings in these early societies, sometimes in separate societies, occasionally in a single society.

3. That interest in the world-task of religion and in contemporary social issues did not begin with the student Y.M.C.A. but is of the prophetic nature of the religion of Jesus, although the earlier preoccupation with theological issues tended to obscure it more frequently than now.

4. That the sense of the student world—the intercollegiate and international pull—seems to have been felt and in a limited but vivid way expressed in these early societies.

5. That intermingled with the urge for intercollegiate fellowship was the deeper Christian passion for a sense of common cause and unity with all Christians.

6. That, so far as the older New England colleges involved in this study are concerned, student religious societies are not a "flash in the pan" as frequently supposed, but have a life that is practically if not wholly continuous from the early student religious society days. The appearance of societies in new colleges as they are organized seems important. In the older colleges there is no period from 1800 to the present when these societies are missing and, with only one or two exceptions, societies organized in the first decade of the nineteenth century have unbroken connection with the present Student Christian Associations. The names of these societies changed with different periods—as with Dartmouth, four changes of name—but the society life has been continuous.

CHAPTER VI

THE WIDE-SPREADING LEAGUE OF CHRISTIAN YOUTH

THUS far we have followed two streams of influence that prepared the way for the creation of some type of intercollegiate student religious organization. One stream is found in the gradual growth of the voluntary idea and its expression in Christian student societies. These societies gave an impetus to religious activities and interests such as could not come from any official or curriculum process. The growing conviction regarding the central place of these societies as an integral part of the religious and educational processes of a college prepared the way for the later rapid growth of the Student Young Men's Christian Association. These early societies had certain obvious weaknesses and limitations. Excepting in the matter of foreign missionary activity, they were related only indirectly to the social implications of Christianity in campus, community, or world life. They felt the need of, but provided no adequate channels for, effective intercollegiate and international activity. Despite these limitations, these societies did mark a real forward step in the development of Christian attitudes and ways of living among college students, and particularly in the spread of intelligence and conviction regarding foreign missions.

The second stream of influence traced is that leading directly from the Mills group at Williams and through the Brethren and Society of Inquiry at Andover to the intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association. It is quite significant that the one student society that seemed to be possessed by a vision of the possibilities of more fruitful campus religious work through intercollegiate organization was the society at Williams, which was primarily missionary in character. This is not accidental, for

the whole history of the Christian church tends to show that clearest vision with regard to things near at hand has generally come from youth who, taking seriously Jesus' way of life and his attitude toward God and men, have been restless until in some effective way they were enabled to share these views with *every* living human being. "The light that shines the farthest, shines brightest nearest home." This goal of world evangelization has always carried with it the obligation constantly to strengthen, purify, and deepen the spiritual life at home. The lines from the voluntary religious societies, and especially the Mills group, to the intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association are but two among many streams of influence contributing to the development of the American Student Christian Movement, which the late Bishop Charles H. Brent once described as "the greatest Movement of spirit of God in modern times."

Our business in this chapter is to follow a third and more influential stream of influence, namely, the effect on college students and college religious societies of the rapid growth among young men of America of the Young Men's Christian Association. It is one of the miracles of modern religious history that a movement started by a dozen clerks in a London dry-goods establishment should have spread so rapidly that within a half-dozen years it had reproduced itself in the lives of Christian young men throughout England, Ireland, Scotland, Switzerland, Germany, France, and America.¹

George Williams and his eleven fellow clerks could not in their wildest imaginings have dreamed of the ultimate significance of their uniting, on June 6, 1844, to form the first Young Men's Christian Association. They knew only that religion in some way must be carried into the shop and market place, that the Church was not doing this, and that no single church could do it. So they united together for "the spiritual and mental improvement" of the young men in "the drapery and other trades." They strongly insisted that "the supreme aim of your daily life should be to bring glory to your Redeemer, and that the most

¹ See Report of the First World's Conference of Y.M.C.A., Paris, 1855.

appropriate sphere for the attainment of this object is that of your daily calling.”²

It is significant that a letter, describing the work of the Y.M.C.A., written by a student of Columbia University who was studying in Edinburgh during the winter of 1849-50, should have been the immediate cause for the formation of the Boston Y.M.C.A., December 22, 1851—the first Association in the United States.³ Because the Association was so clearly a product of city conditions and its methods of approach devised to meet the problems of city youth, many of its leaders refused for a long time to believe that it could be adapted to the needs of students. Even the early demonstrations of its success in a few colleges did not serve to convince the doubters. As early as 1856 students at Milton Academy, Wisconsin, formed a “Christian Association.”⁴ The records of this Association seem to have been lost, so that there is no way of deciding whether its choice of name was in any way influenced by the spread in cities and towns of the Young Men’s Christian Association. If evidence could be found that would establish the fact that these students in 1856 patterned their society after the Y.M.C.A. and regarded themselves as a part of this growing movement, the conclusions which follow in this chapter regarding the first Student Young Men’s Christian Association might be substantially altered. At a time when other schools generally used the name Society of Inquiry, the accidental use by Milton Academy students of the name “Christian Association” would seem to be a strange coincidence.⁵

Similar uncertainty obtains in connection with the date of organization and character of a Young Men’s Christian Association in the organization of which students in Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn., had a share in the year 1858 or earlier. The

² London Y.M.C.A. Report for 1849.

³ G. M. Van Derlip’s letter, written June, 1850, published in the *Watchman Reflector*, Boston, October, 1851.

⁴ *Milton Academy Catalogue*, 1856.

⁵ Historical facts based on letters from President A. H. Whitford, Milton College, dated May and July, 1925, and May, 1930. Milton College was an academy in 1856.

only contemporary evidence is the following notation in the 1858 catalogue for Cumberland University:

"YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The young men of the University, in connection with the young men of the town, have organized a Young Men's Christian Association on a plan similar to that of the most successful institutions of the kind. Every student should be under the restraining influences of such an association."

The wording suggests that this may not have been in its beginnings exclusively a student Association. It also seems to imply that the organization has taken place recently, which would place its date near that of the Michigan and Virginia Associations. The only other contemporary evidence discovered is the report in 1857 of the President of Cumberland to the Andover Society of Inquiry, which makes no reference to any student society.⁶

There is a striking parallel between the beginnings of the Movement among college young men and its beginnings in the city field. During the year 1858 groups of Christian students at the University of Michigan and the University of Virginia, quite ignorant of each other's existence, met to consider the advisability of organizing in place of their Societies of Inquiry a student religious society patterned after the Young Men's Christian Associations. There has been much debate as to whether the first student Y.M.C.A. was organized at the University of Virginia or at the University of Michigan.

The Michigan students met during the Christmas holidays of the college year 1857-58 in the home of Mrs. Elizabeth Spence, mother of Adam E. Spence and E. A. Spence, members of the group. Mrs. Spence, "who was in earnest sympathy with them,"⁷ suggested that the students pattern their new religious society after the Young Men's Christian Association, which she de-

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. Claud Nelson, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Professor W. P. Bone of Cumberland for valuable help regarding this Association.

⁷ Adam K. Spence, "Twentieth Annual Convention Young Men's Christian Association," 1877, p. 70.

scribed as "the wide-spreading league of Christian youth."⁸ After much discussion and prayer, these students effected the organization of a Christian Association. Some informal articles of association were adopted in January or February, 1858. Unfortunately, "as the records of the first two years are missing it is impossible to give the exact time. . . . It is sufficiently certain that the committee [recommending organization] did not report until after the holidays. The completed organization was probably not effected until the January meeting, 1858."⁹

There seem to be no reliable data on which to base a conclusion that the Michigan students really did act on Mrs. Spence's suggestion and organize a Young Men's Christian Association. The only contemporary reference to the nature and relationships of this new society is a poem written by Mrs. Spence and which Mr. Weidensall in his *Memoirs* says was read at "their first public meeting in Ann Arbor, 1857-58."¹⁰

All hail to the now formed Christian Alliance
A union so sacred can never dissolve.
There is power in the wide-spreading league you have entered
To prompt and strengthen the virtuous resolve.

It is nobly done! On the heights you have planted
The standard of Jesus, your leader and Lord.
Maintain your position through toil and through peril
Who shares in the conflict will share the reward.

While over these halls Heaven's banner is waving
Some ardent young hearts will respond to the call,
And consecrate talent, position, and learning,
To the service of Him who is Lord over all. . . .¹¹

⁸ Robert Weidensall, *Early History of College Work* (MS), p. 9 (Historical Library Y.M.C.A., New York).

⁹ The established date for the organization of the University of Virginia Y.M.C.A. is October 12, 1858. Charles K. Adams, University of Michigan *Monthly Bulletin*, February, 1883. (Historical Library Y.M.C.A., New York, MS).

¹⁰ Robert Weidensall, *Early History of College Work* (MS), p. 9. This statement regarding the time of the reading of this poem is quite obviously Mr. Weidensall's and not a part of a dedication of the poem, as the place of typing in this manuscript might lead one to infer.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

The clearest, and almost the only, word on the character of this Christian Association during its first year or so is that found in the historical statement given by Professor Adam K. Spence at the Louisville Convention (1877). Although this is twenty years after the event, yet it is the word of the man who by all testimony was more responsible than any one else for organizing this new Association. He said: "A Christian Association was formed in the winter of 1857-58. At first, however, the society was not successful; for it took the form of a theological debating club, and was a lifeless affair, but later they undertook work for Christ."¹² The constitution, adopted October 15, 1859, seems to indicate that the society, even during its period of informal organization, did not take the name of Young Men's Christian Association. The title page for the earliest extant constitution reads:

PREAMBLE, CONSTITUTION AND BY LAWS
OF THE
STUDENTS' CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
AS ADOPTED OCTOBER 15, 1859.¹³

Article I of the constitution reads: "This Society shall be called the Students' Christian Association of the University of Michigan."¹⁴ In the first record book: "The Student Christian Association fully organized in 1858 was temporarily organized in the fall of 1857."¹⁵ Following this statement is the constitution of October 15, 1859.¹⁶ That this organization came to regard itself as a part of the Young Men's Christian Association by at least 1865 may be judged by the fact that in the records the name

¹² "Twenty-second Annual Convention Young Men's Christian Association," Louisville, 1877, p. 70.

¹³ Constitution of Students' Christian Association of the University of Michigan, 1859 (University of Michigan MS).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Record Book, Students' Christian Association (University of Michigan MS).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Young Men's Christian Association is used ¹⁷ in a report of its work to the *Y.M.C.A. Quarterly* of November, 1866.

If the society did use the name Young Men's Christian Association during the period from February, 1858, to October, 1859, it would seem rather strange (and an important bit of evidence regarding the nature of this early society) that the name should have been changed when the Association's more formal constitution was adopted in October, 1859. It has sometimes been suggested that the name Students' Christian Association had been adopted because women were included in the membership of this Association. This has no force because women were not admitted to the University until 1870—moreover women were in the early days members (and later secretaries) of Young Men's Christian Associations. The name adopted by the society should not however be the most fundamental basis for decision.

So far as the intent of the Michigan students can be discovered it seems clear that they had some concern about patterning their new organization after the "wide-spreading league of Christian youth called the Young Men's Christian Association." However, there is nothing in the constitution adopted in October, 1859, or in the things to be inferred from the records that indicates that the purpose of these students was to make their society a part of the Young Men's Christian Association, that any application for affiliation was made, or that any sense of participation in the expanding interests of this movement of Christian young men existed.

The constitution adopted October, 1859, has the following statement of object: "Whereas, our own development as Christian young men, the advancement of the cause of Christ in this institution, the procurement of suitable religious reading for the students in general, the acquisition of accurate information in reference to the religious condition of the world, and the means and progress of its evangelization are objects which ought chiefly to interest every Christian heart; therefore, for the accomplishment of the above-mentioned objects, we do organize ourselves into a society to be governed by the following Constitution and

¹⁷ *Young Men's Christian Association Quarterly*, November, 1866, p. 34.

By-Laws."¹⁸ There seems to be little in this declaration to differentiate it from many contemporary Societies of Inquiry. This constitution of 1859 is probably as vital as any statement of objects that the society may have had in its earlier period of organization—February, 1858, to October, 1859.

This statement, Professor Spence's report of the Association's first year or two of work, and the facts about its name and relationships make clear that, tested by even the loose standards of the day, these students did not "in the winter of 1857-58" organize a Young Men's Christian Association.

The record of the Young Men's Christian Association at the University of Virginia, on the other hand, is quite clear and, in the judgment of the writer, justifies its friends in "maintaining that under the providence of God the first Young Men's Christian Association ever organized by college students was founded at the University of Virginia on October 12, 1858."¹⁹

The years preceding the organization of the Student Y.M.C.A. at the University of Virginia were remarkable for the spirit of reformation. It followed a period of many student insurrections. Although for a long time "the feeling of soreness against the Faculty which had so long estranged the young men" continued, there was nevertheless steady change for the better.

Virginia in the "fifties," in spite of its reputation for atheism, was not lacking in provision for the religious life of its students, although, in harmony with its Jeffersonian principles, all of its religious activities were on a voluntary basis. In 1848 Professor W. M. H. McGuffey, who occupied the Chair of Moral Philosophy, wrote as follows regarding "morning prayers": "The hour for meeting is twenty minutes before seven o'clock, which, at this season, is a little after daybreak. 'Tis delightful to see over thirty young gentlemen voluntarily, and without notice or obtrusiveness, gathering in the place where prayer is wont to be made, and there publicly but humbly uniting their voices in

¹⁸ Constitution, Students' Christian Association, 1859 (University of Michigan MS).

¹⁹ Hugh McIlhany, "The Founding of the First Young Men's Christian Association among Students," *Alumni Bulletin*, University of Virginia, January, 1909, pp. 52-54.

praise to God for his goodness, and in prayer for his mercy upon them, their instructors, their fellow-students, the University, their country, and the whole race of man.”²⁰

For some years before the organization of the Young Men's Christian Association there had been at work a zealous body known as the Society of Missionary Inquiry, the object of which was to nurture the growth of religious feeling among the students. Under the leadership of the able chaplain, Dabney Carr Harrison, Sunday schools for slaves and work with the inmates of the county poor-house were being carried on. The circular published on Feb. 18, 1857, by the Andover Society of Inquiry giving the state of religion in American colleges contains the following brief report of the religious work at the University of Virginia:

“University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. About one-sixth of the students are professors of religion. There is a Society for Missionary Inquiry; a prayer-meeting on Sunday afternoon, and numerous local prayer-meetings. There is a chaplain, appointed for two years, and in rotation, from the four leading denominations of the State. He is sustained by the voluntary contributions of the faculty, and other residents, and students.”

Thomas Hume, one of the founders of the University of Virginia Young Men's Christian Association, said: “Early in the spring of 1857-58, some of us felt the stir in the air of this institution. Debating societies, fraternities, and other associations all failed to meet the strong desire for fellowship. . . . Conferences were held . . . which led to a study of the plan of the city Young Men's Christian Association. . . . So things to be changed being changed, the constitution of your society, the first Young Men's Christian Association in the colleges of the world, was made and adopted October 12, 1858.”²¹

It is a striking fact that in a report issued a few months after their organization, the student officers gave as a major reason for having organized this Christian Association the fact that “the

²⁰ P. A. Bruce, *History of University of Virginia*, Vol. III, pp. 138-139.

²¹ *Madison Hall Notes*, Vol. III, No. 13, p. 1 (Nov. 30, 1907).

religious destitution and comparative spiritual, as well as mental, darkness prevailing in an adjoining section of the county began to appeal more strongly to our hearts.”²²

These facts make clear that the Virginia students definitely modeled their society after the Young Men's Christian Association. They had completed organization by October 12, 1858, about eight months later than the informal organization effected by Michigan. They immediately applied to the central committee of the Confederation of the Young Men's Christian Association.²³ Within the first year of their life they sent a full report of their work to the official magazine of the Young Men's Christian Association. In this report they said: "The Association is already a success. Even now it holds a prominent place among the various independent organizations of the University—its first Annual Catalogue showed a membership of one hundred and twelve."²⁴

Article I, Section II, of their constitution of October 12, 1858, stated that the object of the Association was "the improvement of the spiritual condition of the students, and the extension of religious advantages to the destitute points in the neighborhood of the University." As an assertion of their purpose to be a part of the growing league of Young Men's Christian Associations, they provided that "members of other Associations, while transiently among us, shall be entitled to the privileges of the Association" (Article II, Section IV).²⁵

These, together with many other facts, justify the conclusion that the Young Men's Christian Association organized October 12, 1858, by the students of the University of Virginia was the first student religious society different enough in name, nature, and program to be entitled to the honor of being the first Student Young Men's Christian Association in the world.

²² *Y.M.C.A. Journal*, March, 1859, pp. 59-60 (Historical Library, Y.M.C.A., New York).

²³ Report of the University of Virginia Young Men's Christian Association, 1859-60 (Madison Hall, University of Virginia MS).

²⁴ *Y.M.C.A. Journal*, March, 1859, pp. 59-60 (Historical Library, Y.M.C.A., New York).

²⁵ Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Virginia, 1859 (Madison Hall, University of Virginia MS).

The distinctive features of the University of Virginia Y.M.C.A. were its comprehensiveness and its campus-centered program. No previous college society had so effectively drawn together the phases of Christian student activity found in all the differing types of religious societies. Its program centered around that concern for carrying religion "into the sphere of the daily occupation" which was the distinguishing characteristic of the Young Men's Christian Association, formed June 6, 1844, by the twelve clerks in Hitchcock and Company's establishment. The following is quoted from the report of the first few months of their work:

"Starting with between forty and fifty members, our number has increased since the meeting in November, to nearly one hundred; among those we have earnest, laborious Christians and our committee on religious meetings, etc., has found means of employing some of them as teachers for Sunday Schools in the neighboring mountains, as conductors of religious exercises at the almshouse, and for the colored people of the University; while our standing committee composed of members from the various boarding houses connected with the University affords opportunities which have been improved for the Christian activity of others in the exercise of personal influence, the distribution of tracts, collections for benevolent objects, and maintenance of social prayer meetings at different points among the students."²⁶

Here was a program characterized by a breadth of outlook and a comprehensiveness of approach to the many-sided interests of individual students and the whole campus. In the second Annual Report they said: "The Association is already a success. Even now it holds a prominent place among the various independent organizations of the University, commanding respect by its dignity and winning love by the purity of its purpose. . . ."

They reported with satisfaction the distinguished Christian leaders who had given public lectures under the auspices of the Association, and told of the beginning of a religious library. They said that the great end for which the Association was formed was "to employ and encourage the disposition to do good. Often times it has happened, heretofore, that young men of high-toned

²⁶ *Young Men's Christian Association Journal*, March, 1859, pp. 59-60.

piety and zeal for work have been deterred, by apprehension or lack of sympathy, from participation in those duties which are so essential to their own spiritual growth; or, from ignorance of the wants of the community, have either made no attempt at direct personal efforts, or failed to give them the most efficient direction."²⁷ They also pointed out that the Virginia Association program left such young men "without excuse," since there was opportunity to participate in the district prayer meetings (held in the various rooming sections of the campus and bringing together weekly two hundred students), to join a group of "fifty young men who were actively engaged in preaching the gospel," either in the Sunday Schools of Charlottesville or the University, or to go "as missionaries to different parts of the surrounding country."²⁸

The difference between the implications of an association with such an objective and program and the outlook and work of most of the Societies of Inquiry that had preceded it, is very great. In the work of the University of Virginia Association we see the most nearly perfect mingling of the two ideas that, once united, were destined to make the Christian movement among students in all lands a creative force for building the City of God in the hearts of students. The first is the idea of the voluntary banding together of students in religious societies for fellowship and religious and missionary effort. The second is the Y.M.C.A. contribution of comprehensiveness and emphasis on responsibility for "the carrying of religion into the sphere of the daily occupation." The union of these two ideas in the Student Young Men's Christian Association created an indigenous Christian student society with a note of reality frequently lacking in earlier societies and that was essential for its development in the colleges.

²⁷ Second Annual Report of the University of Virginia Young Men's Christian Association (published in connection with its constitution and by-laws and catalogue of members for the season 1859-60) (Madison Hall, University of Virginia ms).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VII

THE SPREAD OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION IN THE COLLEGES—1858-1877

STUDENTS at Michigan and Virginia were not alone in pioneering Christian student organizations patterned after the Young Men's Christian Association. During the next two decades (1857-1877) groups of students in widely-separated colleges—and frequently without knowledge of the existence of Young Men's Christian Associations in other colleges—discovered the possibilities for effective Christian fellowship and activity through societies affiliated with this "wide-spreading league of Christian youth." These societies arose spontaneously because of real moral and religious needs which students and faculty felt could be met better through the Young Men's Christian Association than in any other way.

Prior to the Indianapolis Convention (1870) no efforts had been made by the annual Young Men's Christian Association conventions to encourage the organization of Y.M.C.A.'s. in the colleges. This was not strange as there was really no orderly promotion of any particular branch of the work. It was a period in which all sorts of religious organizations were being formed and taking the name Young Men's Christian Association. Associations sprang up like mushrooms in cities, villages, and hamlets everywhere. Some of these organizations related themselves to the Confederation of Y.M.C.A.'s. and sought representation in its annual convention, but many more did not—simply taking the name Young Men's Christian Association and carrying on their work in their own way.

There was the further fact that some of the ablest lay leaders of the Young Men's Christian Association believed that it would be unwise to attempt any extension of the city movement into

the colleges. The view was well expressed by Dr. Verannus Morse, editor of the *Young Men's Christian Association Quarterly*, who in later years confessed that he had always been unable "to see from any man's point of view" how it had been possible "to organize Associations among college students *based on our constitution*, which was devised and well fitted to meet the needs of young men whose circumstances and conditions differed so widely from the circumstances and conditions of college students."¹

Perhaps it is more than a coincidence that the first student Young Men's Christian Associations were formed in state universities. The free religious atmosphere of these institutions, together with the greater sense of responsibility that rested upon the individual Christian student for the propagation of his faith, provided fertile soil for the growth of indigenous, student-initiated and controlled Christian Associations based on wide opportunity for interdenominational religious fellowship and expression.

During the college year 1864-65 students at the University of Rochester, "feeling that among students the tendency to be satisfied with the theoretical in religion in place of the experimental is always strong," transformed their Judson Society of Missionary Inquiry (organized 1851-52) into a Young Men's Christian Association. They said that "dealing with ideas and systems rather than with the facts of everyday business, even the most earnest Christians in a college or seminary are conscious of a tendency to give undue prominence to religious convictions *apart from* religious actions and emotions. . . ." One of the chief aims of this Association was to "form in its members regular habits of Christian work, and to keep their hearts warm with Christian love by mutual encouragement and sympathy."² The local university records for 1864 state that "A Young Men's Christian Association was organized this year and has since maintained a

¹ Letter from Verannus Morse to Robert Weidensall, dated January 31, 1898; Weidensall files (Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York).

² M. Edward Gates, "The Association in a University," *Association Monthly*, Feb., 1870, p. 33.

healthful vigorous existence in affiliation with the Young Men's Christian Associations throughout our land."³

The Rochester Association carried on a program nearly as varied as that at the University of Virginia. In addition to a variety of campus religious activities, "several mission Sunday Schools and even churches" were "started by members of the Association. . . . Membership in some evangelical church" was "a condition to election" but "*all*" were "made heartily welcome at its meetings." The influence of the Association was "felt in the uniform respect with which religion" was "treated by all members of the college and the almost total absence of profanity and impure conversation on the college grounds."⁴

The faculty interest in this Association was shown in many ways. The trustees leased for their use "a commodious room—tastefully furnished by voluntary contributions." The "members of the faculty occasionally" met with them and in every way "the Association was made to feel the hearty sympathy of every college officer."⁵ In an article entitled "The Association in Colleges, A Suggestion to College Churches," President M. B. Anderson of Rochester said:

"Some of our colleges, whose officers and students belong mainly to one denomination, have established college churches and provided pastors, upon whose ministry all the pupils not excused from attendance by conscientious and moral scruples are required to attend. To such a provision for the moral culture of students, there are serious and obvious objections.

"The most natural and efficient means of attaining the moral ends of a Christian school and avoiding the impropriety of trenching upon the conscience of either the pupils or their parents is through the organization of the Christian Association. The writer of this has for several years witnessed the beneficial working of such a college organization and would most heartily recommend the formation of similar associations throughout the

³ Catalogue of University of Rochester, 1864. The writer has been unable to find the early record books of this Association.

⁴ M. Edward Gates, "The Association in a University," *Association Monthly*, February, 1870, p. 33.

⁵ *Ibid.*

country. Not the least among the claims of this new periodical may be founded upon the carefully-prepared statements of the efforts and successes of such associations in all centers of educational influence in the U. S. and the British Provinces.”⁶

That student discussion of the possibility of adapting the Young Men's Christian Association to the colleges was not confined to any one section of the country is evidenced by the fact that in 1865, shortly after the organization of the Rochester Association, a group of Iowa students—dissatisfied with the theoretical character of their “Society of Christian Inquiry”—organized a Christian Association at Grinnell College. This Grinnell College Christian Association was open to men and women students; or, as the catalogue of the College for 1875 said, was “composed of students without distinction.”⁷

Within a short interval, in the years 1867 and 1868, students at Washington College (later Washington and Lee), Lexington, Virginia, Roanoke College, Salem, Virginia, and the University of Mississippi, formed Associations. The action of the students who, on May 28, 1867, organized the Young Men's Christian Association at Washington College, was much influenced by General Robert E. Lee, who had accepted the presidency of the college after the Civil War. “The ruling passion of General Lee's life was clearly and evidently his complete consecration and devotion as a whole-hearted, pure-minded, and devout Christian.”⁸ He “dreaded the thought of any student going away from the college without becoming a sincere Christian.”⁹ In spite of this deep religious passion, he did not believe in required chapel,¹⁰ a fact which probably greatly heightened his interest in the Young Men's Christian Association as a voluntary student religious fellowship. Rev. J. W. Jones, at that time the pastor of the Lexington Baptist Church, thus indicates the degree to which General

⁶ *Association Monthly*, January, 1870, p. 7.

⁷ Historical data furnished by Dean Frank Dewey, Grinnell College; letter to author dated November 18, 1925.

⁸ Letter to author from President Henry Louis Smith, Washington and Lee (June 22, 1925).

⁹ J. W. M. Jones, *Christ in the Camp, or Religion in Lee's Army*, p. 122.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Lee was instrumental in the beginning of this organization: "He sent for me one day to consult about organizing a Y.M.C.A. in the college, and after we had organized it he took the liveliest interest in its success and contributed to it every year \$50 from his own scant resources."¹¹

In his report to the Board of Trustees at their meeting on June 19, 1867, General Lee says: "A Young Men's Christian Association has been organized in the College, which will do much to fix the attention of the students upon the subject of religion and to cultivate moral and religious sentiments in the community."¹² Later, General Lee was made an honorary member of the Association. His reply in accepting this membership is given in another quotation from the Rev. Mr. Jones: "I have received your letter announcing my election as an honorary member of the Young Men's Christian Association of Washington College, a society in which prosperity I take the deepest interest and for the welfare of whose members my prayers are daily offered. Please present my grateful thanks to your Association for the honor conferred on me."¹³

The University of Mississippi records show that as early as 1868 "the Young Men's Christian Association was established to promote the cause of Christian morality."¹⁴ The years 1868-70 witnessed activity on the part of groups of students in widely-separated colleges, leading to the organization of Young Men's Christian Associations. In February of 1868 the Executive Committee of the Confederation of the Y.M.C.A.'s. received a letter from a group of students who were "desirous of becoming an auxiliary to the Young Men's International Christian Association." This Association "held its first meeting on February 21, 1868." Its membership was made up of students "connected with the 'College of the City of New York' on the corner of 23rd. Street and Lexington Avenue; having for its object, 'to promote the

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Report of President R. E. Lee to Board of Trustees, Washington College, June 19, 1867 (Washington and Lee Ms).

¹³ J. W. M. Jones, *Religion in Lee's Army*, p. 122.

¹⁴ Historical statement prepared by R. Malcolm Guess, University of Mississippi, June 1, 1925.

moral, social, and spiritual condition of the students of the said college.'"¹⁵

A few days later (February 27, 1868) a meeting of students at Olivet College (Michigan) was held with Rev. H. O. Ladd, who "suggested the formation of a Young Men's Christian Association. The suggestion was approved and on March 20th. the constitution of the Detroit (City) Association was adopted with such changes as would adapt it to local needs," this action making Olivet the third Association in Michigan. "Classes for the study of the Bible and of missions" were formed and students organized and conducted "Sabbath Schools in the country districts around Olivet. One of the early members was I. C. Seeley, '68, who for years after was one of the most conspicuous leaders of the Young Men's Christian Association."¹⁶

The State Young Men's Christian Association Conventions were beginning at this time to be centers of inspiration for young men interested in the Y.M.C.A. At a convention held in Massachusetts in October, 1867, "several of the students of Williams College were in attendance . . . and upon their return formed what they denominate their praying band—a home evangelization society. They organized fourteen Prayer Meetings a week in the different destitute districts of the town, and several conversions have resulted. An Association was successfully formed in the town a few weeks subsequent."¹⁷ Whether this was a town or college Association we are not definitely told, but we can infer that it was a town Association from the fact that the official date given for the organization of the Williams Association is 1873.¹⁸

It is interesting to note that Williams was doing at this time some of the same kind of community work that Virginia had been doing for nearly ten years. The Massachusetts State Convention two years later (Lowell, Mass., October, 1869) reported among the four hundred present "eighteen from Williams Col-

¹⁵ *Young Men's Christian Association Quarterly*, August, 1868, pp. 146-147.

¹⁶ History of Olivet College, quoted by Miss Doris Dennison, in a letter to the author dated June 22, 1925.

¹⁷ *Young Men's Christian Association Quarterly*, May, 1868, p. 94.

¹⁸ *Young Men's Christian Association Year Book*, 1877.

lege, and eighteen from Amherst. Andover Theological Seminary was closed for the two days and the professors addressed the Convention."¹⁹

In 1869, eleven students of Howard University, D. C., feeling the need for voluntary student religious fellowship and work, organized the first Negro student Young Men's Christian Association, thus beginning that rapid and remarkable development of Association work among the Negro students of this country. The Association consisted of "the evangelical Christians of Howard University." Its purpose was "to exert a Christian influence among our unconverted fellow-students, and to promote our own growth in holiness. The greater portion of us occupy our time on the Lord's Day in teaching Sabbath-school classes, and in other Christian work."²⁰

Twelve Cornell University students (also in 1869) united to "promote Christian religion among the students of Cornell University, and to improve our spiritual, mental, and social condition; and impressed with the importance of concentrated effort to aid in accomplishing these objects and desirous of forming an Association in which we may together labor for these great ends, hereby agree to adopt for our united government the following . . ."²¹ The student president of this Association, J. W. Cook, reporting their work in 1873, said: "Our university has been termed one of infidelity—a university without religion. But we have a body of earnest Christian young men there. We have had an Association about four years and are doing good work. We have committees on boarding houses, visiting, etc. We have quite a number of active working members and have a fine room where we hold our Sunday evening meetings. From a dozen to thirty-five men attend every meeting."²²

Ten years passed after the formation of the Association at the University of Virginia before the Young Men's Christian Asso-

¹⁹ *Association Monthly*, January, 1870, p. 12.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, June, 1870, p. 140.

²¹ Preamble to the Constitution of the Cornell University Christian Association, 1869 (Barnes Hall, Cornell ms).

²² Report of the International Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association, Poughkeepsie, 1873, p. 83.

ciation saw the necessity of employing any national agents to aid in the extension and development of its work. During this decade students in a dozen or more colleges organized Young Men's Christian Associations. They were influenced by the spread of this movement in the cities, but were generally ignorant of the existence of Associations in other colleges. The campus moral and religious needs that brought about the organization of the Virginia Association were quite similar to those that led other groups of students to model their college religious societies after this wide-spreading league of city youth.

This gradual extension of the movement in the colleges was paralleled by a more rapid growth in cities and towns, which made necessary the securing of paid national leadership. The employment in October, 1868, of Robert Weidensall as the first paid agent of the Y.M.C.A. marks the beginning of organized effort to give national leadership to the growth of this rapidly-spreading movement of Christian youth in cities, towns, and colleges. One year later the Portland Convention (1869) authorized the employment of "a person to act as secretary and perform editorial duties." Richard C. Morse of *The New York Observer*—a recent Yale and Union Seminary graduate—was secured for this position of "editor and general secretary" and began, in January, 1870, the publication of *The Association Monthly*—the Movement's magazine.²³

The growth of the Movement under the leadership of these two "paid agents," Mr. Weidensall and Mr. Morse, was so rapid that three years later, on October 1, 1872, Mr. Morse, having relinquished the editorial work and given up other life-work plans, accepted the urgent call of the International Committee to become its General Secretary.²⁴ The acceptance of this call marked the beginning of a varied and remarkable ministry to the moral and religious life of young men and boys of the world that continued to the last hours of his life in the Christmas holiday season of 1926. With the beginning of Mr. Morse's leader-

²³ Report of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations, pp. 96-108.

²⁴ R. C. Morse, *My Life with Young Men*, pp. 96-108.

ship as General Secretary, Mr. Weidensall became an associate, with general responsibility for the field extension work of the Young Men's Christian Association—particularly in the Middle West. It is rather significant that the first two paid agents of the general Young Men's Christian Association movement, Mr. Morse, and Mr. Weidensall, were college graduates who themselves had taken an active part in religious work as undergraduates.

The immediate cause for the employment of Mr. Weidensall, on Oct. 19, 1868, as a "paid agent" was the "vast multitudes of young men—settling in towns now springing up with great rapidity on the line of the Pacific Railroad; numbers of them being ruined by gambling, drunkenness, and immorality." The "clearly-demonstrated service that the Young Men's Christian Association could render to such youth made imperative the employment of an agent to aid in the organization" of Associations.²⁵ Weidensall's experience as a volunteer worker in the Young Men's Christian Association among railroad men peculiarly fitted him for this task. Born April 20, 1836, at Hollidaysburg, Pa., he graduated from Gettysburg College and soon afterwards entered the employ of the Pacific Railroad. During the Civil War he served in the Engineers' Corps in the Union Army. "He was cut out," said George A. Warburton, "for the work of a pioneer and he has lived to see the section in which he labored become strong in definite Christian work for young men. His life has been consecrated to this one idea. No man meets him who does not recognize the sincerity of his life." "I only wish," says a Michigan student in 1871, that "he could visit every Association in the land. His genial, yet earnest countenance seems alone to bear a blessing with it."

A man of clear-cut convictions, courageous in the face of the most difficult situations; a hater of illiberal denominationalism, and always charitable in his attitude towards those whose church affiliations differed from his own; conservatively orthodox and simple in his theological ideas and religious faith; a visionary who

²⁵ Thirteenth Annual Convention, Young Men's Christian Association (1868), pp. 82 and 115.

saw his visions become realities; a man who, never knowing the joys of wife, home, and children, gave to his life work the sort of love that most men give to their families, and who had refused ever to be divorced from it "until death us do part," with the result that all things of long standing in the work had become to him so sacred that to change them would be a sacrilege; a man who could make good enemies by the same qualities that attracted to him an increasingly large circle of friends who will always affectionately think of him not as Mr. Weidensall, or Weidensall, but "Uncle Robert"—such are some of the outstanding qualities of this rugged pioneer, whose best biography will be found to be his works.

During the nine years between Weidensall's appointment and the birth of the Intercollegiate Movement (1877) there was more than a fourfold increase in the number of student Associations, as well as a growing identification of the colleges with the spread of the Movement in cities, towns, and schools. Weidensall—because of conviction and his undergraduate experience a strong believer in the college Young Men's Christian Association—had this conviction fanned into a passion through a friendship formed with Professor Adam K. Spence, of the University of Michigan, in whose home, when Spence was an undergraduate there, had taken place the meetings in the Christmas holidays of 1857-58 which led to the organization of the Student Christian Association. Upon his graduation from Michigan, Spence was appointed an instructor and shortly after made an assistant professor. "His zealous Christian character and unflagging interest in the Association were a power that carried the work over difficulties that might otherwise have seemed insurmountable."²⁸

It was Professor Spence who first publicly advocated the extensive promotion of Young Men's Christian Associations in the colleges. It was his belief that the Y.M.C.A., through its conventions and its National Executive Committee, should actively foster the organization of Associations in schools and colleges. To accomplish this he vigorously advocated the passage by the De-

²⁸ Charles K. Adams, "The Founding of the Christian Association of the University of Michigan," *The Intercollegian*, February, 1891, pp. 75-76.

etroit Convention (1868) of the following resolution: "WHEREAS, during a portion of each year, and at a period of life most critical to moral and religious character, thousands of our young men are away from their homes at our universities, colleges, and other schools of learning; and WHEREAS, Christian Associations have been formed and successfully maintained in some of these institutions; therefore, be it resolved that, as a Convention, and individuals, we will seek to plant a Christian Association in each and all of our universities, colleges, and seminaries of learning, etc." ²⁷

In spite of the able advocacy of this resolution, the Convention referred it to the Committee on Associations, which never brought it back to the Convention for action. Before the Convention adjourned the delegates made a special trip to Ann Arbor to hear the university president, in his address to these visitors, further emphasize the importance of the extension of the Young Men's Christian Association to the colleges. He said: "But the question may be asked, Is this a Christian University? Can the great system of schools be a Christian system? If it can be, it must be by the efforts of the Christian Association. No religious denomination should have a predominance in a state institution, and no one should be a professor who cannot sink his sectarianism. We have a flourishing Christian Association in the University and more than a hundred have been brought to Christ during the past year." ²⁸

Whatever may have been the status of the University of Michigan Association in 1858, certainly no one would deny that in 1870 it was a most vigorous member of the Young Men's Christian Association brotherhood. "The Students' Christian Association" was "full of life and good purpose. Than its meeting there can be no better example of Christian union. . . . Our 'College Church,' as the Association has been named, has thus been of positive value in exerting a powerful influence to destroy the reproach of infidelity so often cast upon us." ²⁹ Although the Stu-

²⁷ Thirteenth Annual Young Men's Christian Association Convention Detroit (1868), pp. 88-89.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

²⁹ *The Michigan University Chronicle*, February, 1870.

dents' Christian Association had not, in 1870, adopted the Portland Convention basis (1869) of evangelical membership and did not do so until 1883, this was only because Michigan students then felt that the regular Young Men's Christian Association basis was more lenient than their own.³⁰

In his first year of field work Weidensall was impressed with the importance of strong Associations in the rapidly-growing schools and colleges of the Middle West. He also felt that there could be no aggressive promotion of Associations in the colleges until a national convention had approved of such action. He was consequently eager to aid the University of Michigan and Professor Spence in their effort to secure official encouragement for this work. Professor Spence, undismayed by the indifference of the Detroit Convention, and by the total lack of any reference to student Associations in the Portland Convention of 1869, determined to press for a consideration of his proposal by the International Convention of 1870. Just prior to this Convention he published an article on "The Association in the Colleges and Schools," in which he said:

"... we would again call the attention . . . to the Christian Association as especially fitted for this field. . . . It is catholic in character, embracing all who can be truly called Christian . . . it leaves each to the choice of his own denomination, thus, in its sphere, accomplishing what seems to be God's law in the universe—*Unity in Variety*. Begetting in the hearts of the young union in the essential, it forgets the minor distinctions and, drawing neither from the moorings of faith nor the Church, it liberalizes in the right way. . . . In all this it is especially fitted to the ardor of our youth and in the process of their education. But the Christian Association in college is no longer an experiment. In Rochester University . . . it has had a successful existence for eight years. In the University of Michigan, after a life of more than twelve years it lives still deeper than ever in the affections of the Christian men here, both professors and students, and is recognized as the very heart and centre of the Christian life of this institution. . . . We would urge a special considera-

³⁰ *The Michigan University Bulletin*, October, 1883.

tion at the next International Convention for this subject—"The Christian Association in Colleges and Schools—its Value and How to Plant, and Conduct it in Such Institutions." ³¹

This article conspired with the spontaneous growth of college Associations and Weidensall's two years of pioneering "along the line of the Pacific Railroad" to prepare delegates to the Indianapolis Convention (1870) to give more friendly consideration to the colleges. Professor Spence and three students represented the Michigan Association at this convention. At the afternoon session on June 23rd Professor Spence's resolution was presented by M. S. Crosby of Grand Rapids, Michigan, and on the morning of the next day referred to the Committee on Associations. On the afternoon of June 24th this committee brought a report recommending "the adoption of suggestions contained in the resolutions of Professor A. K. Spence." The resolution as adopted stated: "That this Convention hails with joy the organization, in some of our academies and colleges, of Young Men's Christian Associations, and commends this feature of our work in behalf of the young men of America, and hopes that Christian Associations may be planted wherever practicable in our academies, colleges, and universities, and that we urge especially such Societies already existing that they seek to extend their work in this important field." ³²

That many Association leaders were still not convinced regarding the adaptability of the Y.M.C.A. to the colleges is evidenced by the following record in the later proceedings of this convention: "Motion was made to reconsider the action of the resolution for the organization of Associations in colleges—lost." ³³ The opposition to the extension of Association work in the colleges came principally from those who felt that the Young Men's Christian Association was an organization for the cities and that it could not be adapted to the student field.

³¹ *Association Monthly*, June, 1870, p. 125.

³² Fifteenth Annual Convention Young Men's Christian Associations, Indianapolis, 1870, p. 64.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

By the action of the Indianapolis Convention the Movement recognized the adaptability of the Young Men's Christian Association to the colleges and put upon its agents, Mr. Weidensall and Mr. Morse, the obligation to strengthen such societies as were in existence and to encourage the extension of the Movement in other schools and colleges. With the help of student deputations and a few men like Professor Spence, more progress was made in this period in the organization of Student Young Men's Christian Associations than is commonly supposed. The first aggressive work for carrying out the Indianapolis resolution came through the action of students who were delegates to the Michigan State Young Men's Christian Association Convention at Jackson, Michigan, January 17-18, 1871.

Under Weidensall's leadership and with the vigorous coöperation of the Michigan State Committee, a deputation of students visited the colleges of Michigan following the convention. Starting with the two student Associations at Ann Arbor and Olivet, this Movement spread until there were seven college Associations in the state—the new societies having been formed at Albion, Hillsdale, Adrian, Kalamazoo, and Ypsilanti.³⁴ This rapid extension of the work in Michigan colleges through student deputations was reported at the Washington Convention in May, 1871. Its significance lay not only in the results in Michigan, but also in the practical answer that it gave to the suggestion of the Indianapolis resolution that "already existing societies seek to extend their work in this important field." Within a single year all the colleges of Michigan had been united together in the fellowship of the Association Movement.

In 1871 Weidensall went as the representative of the Young Men's Christian Association Movement to the State Young Men's Christian Association Convention held at Green Castle, Indiana. Student delegates were present at the Indiana Convention from Hanover, where a Y.M.C.A. had just been organized, and from De Pauw and Wabash Colleges, who returned to organize Associations. At Wabash the Society of Inquiry became the Young

³⁴ Robert Weidensall, *Early History of College Work* (MS, pp. 34-39, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York).

Men's Christian Association of the college, keeping its own name, much as did the Philadelphian Society of Princeton. In connection with this trip Weidensall helped students at Lawrence University, Appleton, Wisconsin, and the Wisconsin State University at Madison to organize Associations.³⁵

In November, 1871, Weidensall made his first southern trip. He was well received and found active Associations at the University of Virginia, Roanoke College (Salem, Virginia), and Washington and Lee Military Institute. New Associations were organized at Tennessee Wesleyan and at East Tennessee University (Knoxville).³⁶ This southern visit was a strong factor in the rapid reunion of northern and southern Associations in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association. As a result of this visit, five students represented Emory and Henry College at the Lowell International Convention in 1872. By the time of the Lowell Convention Weidensall had "organized new college Associations, visited existing college Associations, affording them such help as they needed, and, with only several exceptions, putting them on the evangelical basis of active membership in seven states: Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, West Virginia, Virginia, and Tennessee."³⁷

The year 1873 saw the beginnings of college work in Illinois. Associations were organized in Carthage College and Wesleyan University (Bloomington); and a men's and women's Association was formed at Illinois Industrial University (now the University of Illinois). Associations had previously been organized at the Normal University (a Y.M.C.A. and a Y.W.C.A.) and at Northwestern College (Naperville, Illinois). When the Young Men's Christian Associations of Illinois held their first state convention in Bloomington, Illinois, on November 6-9, 1873, six of the fourteen Associations represented were college Associations.³⁸ The spread of the Movement to the Canadian colleges was evidenced

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-53.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-75.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

by the report in 1873 of an Association organized by the students of the University of Toronto. The year 1874-75 witnessed the extension of the Movement into Minnesota and Iowa, Associations being formed at Carleton College (Northfield), and at the normal schools at Winona, St. Cloud, and Mankato. In Iowa College (Grinnell) a Society of Inquiry had become an active Young Men's Christian Association. At Iowa City (State University) a flourishing Students' Christian Association was visited.³⁹

At the first International Convention to be held in the South, following the close of the Civil War, in Richmond, Virginia, 1875, there was discussion of the topic "How can the Association reach young men in colleges and educational institutions?" President Anderson of Rochester University urged the convention to "take measures to increase the number and efficiency of Christian Associations in the colleges, professional, and scientific schools of our country." Professor J. L. M. Curry, of Richmond Institute, pleaded for the Association as a substitute for officially-prescribed religious exercises, contending that the only way to reach the student was by an efficient and voluntary agency like the Young Men's Christian Association. Students should not be compelled to attend prayers or worship. "Compulsory religion is an abomination in the sight of God."⁴⁰ Although the discussion showed a real advance on the part of the Movement in appreciation of the place of the Association in the colleges, no advance action was taken by the Richmond Convention. It seemed clear that the city and town work were now growing so rapidly and presenting so many new problems that the chance of the executive committee and its agents giving special attention to the college field was very small unless some new plan were devised for the giving of such help.

Much of the Association's growth in colleges had come without the help of the Movement or its agents; much of it was the result of student deputations; a great deal, however, was a by-

³⁹ Robert Weidensall, *Early History of College Work* (ms), pp. 95-97, Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York).

⁴⁰ Twentieth Annual Young Men's Christian Association Convention, Richmond, Virginia, pp. 79-80.

product of Weidensall's college visits and the editorial and direct leadership of Richard C. Morse. Credit for keeping the obligation for giving help in the college field upon the conscience of the Movement belongs to Weidensall and Professor Spence. The contribution of the University of Michigan Association through its aggressive leadership in the State of Michigan and in the conventions of the Movement was a real factor in preparing the way for the Intercollegiate Movement.

However begun, the Associations organized during this period were in every case indigenous, independent, interdenominational, student-controlled organizations. They arose on campuses because there were great moral and religious needs in the lives of students that could not be met as well through existing official provisions as through voluntary action on the part of students themselves. From the intercollegiate standpoint they enjoyed certain benefits of the larger Association Movement, such as receiving news of other Associations through the magazine and meeting other college students and laymen in the State Y.M.C.A. Conventions. Although these broadened channels for fellowship gave new outlets for the intercollegiate urge expressed in the early years of the nineteenth century through inter-society correspondence, yet *on the whole the Christian Associations in these pioneering years were nearly as local in character as the earlier student societies had been.*

These Associations generally replaced or transformed earlier student religious societies largely because the Y.M.C.A. stressed less the theoretical side of religion and seemed to offer more effective ways of relating religion to the life of individuals, campus groups, and the campus as a whole. The "sphere of daily occupation" for George Williams and the young men who organized the first Y.M.C.A. was the establishment of Hitchcock and Company, 72 St. Paul's Churchyard, London. For students the sphere of their daily occupation was the class-room, the boarding house, the fraternity, the literary society, the athletic field, and the surrounding community with its needs. As a consequence of this emphasis on the practical applications of religion, these early Y.M.C.A.'s. were much more campus-centered in their religious

program and were characterized by a stronger service note than the societies which they replaced. The spontaneous spread of the Y.M.C.A. in the colleges between the years 1858-1877 is largely due to the fact that most other contemporary student religious societies—whether “theological,” missionary, or devotional—tended to have too limited objectives, to be too membership-centered rather than campus-centered and to conform too closely to the literary-society type of organization. The conception of a religious society aiming to transform the religious life of a campus and of campus groups was so appealing that *students in more than forty colleges organized Y.M.C.A.’s. between 1858 and 1877.*

As in the case of the University of Virginia, these Associations began to have a concern for the morally and religiously destitute in the neighborhood, the “poor whites” and the colored people in the mountains, the children and the young people living on isolated farms with meager schooling and church facilities, the inmates of the prisons and almshouses, and the employees who did the menial work of the university. College presidents, such as President Anderson of Rochester, saw in this *student approach to their own moral and religious problems* a way of influencing the moral and religious idealism of students that was largely closed to them through any of the official processes of the college itself. They were outspoken in their appreciation and were ready to appropriate funds and rooms for the use of these Associations.

Most of these early Associations held weekly (in some cases daily) Association meetings, devotional rather than literary in character. Lecturers and prominent clergymen were brought by the societies for annual and occasional meetings to which the college as a whole was invited. The college was frequently divided into boarding-house or college-class districts and small-group prayer circles were formed in these sections of the campus life. In some of the college Associations committees on board and room and for visiting the sick were formed. Many of the early societies saw the need of maintaining an Association room. Some of them continued the practices of the earlier Societies of Inquiry

in the way of literary exercises and the accumulation of a religious library.

During the last half of these two decades a few leaders of the general Y.M.C.A. sensed the importance of extending this movement in the colleges. Their efforts were directed towards having the Movement "*plant a Christian Association in the colleges and universities of the land.*" Developing such a sense of responsibility on the part of the Young Men's Christian Association for extending its work in the colleges was important but *quite different from developing an intercollegiate Christian movement.* This intercollegiate urge, which clearly existed in the early Christian student societies, could find its complete expression only through some channel created by the initiative of the colleges and students themselves.

CHAPTER VIII

A YOUTH AND A COLLEGE SOCIETY

THE period just preceding the beginnings of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement was one of great intercollegiate activity. Fraternities began to be organized on a national basis. Intercollegiate athletics became popular. Literary and debating societies enjoyed intercollegiate fellowship. Professional organizations began to be formed in the educational world. Instead of there being but twenty-five colleges, widely scattered, as at the time of Mills' group, there were by 1877 fully three hundred and fifty, enrolling between fifty and sixty thousand students.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century many college presidents could count on the fingers of one hand those students who were in any vital way professing Christians or related to the Church. The following religious statistics for some of the New England Colleges published by the Amherst College Society of Inquiry in 1856 show a little more than one-third of the students claiming to be "professors of religion."

	<i>Students</i>	<i>Professors of Religion</i>	<i>Preparing for the Ministry</i>
Bowdoin College	152	37	..
Waterville College	86	46	18
University of Vermont	123	30	25
Middlebury College	60	35	17
Amherst College	187	113	77
Williams College	207	106	71
Brown University	243	80	35
Harvard College	319	30	..
Yale College	446	130	70
Wesleyan University	103	78	35
Dartmouth College	237	60	..
	<hr/> 2163	<hr/> 745	<hr/> 348 ¹

¹ W. S. Tyler, *Prayer for Colleges*, p. 136.

By 1877 about one-half of the student body in most American colleges were counted as members of some Christian church.

Nearly seventy years after the activity of Mills and his fellow students this idea of an intercollegiate religious society was re-born in the heart of a student who by all the accidents of birth and training was destined to make it an idea of great power in the lives of college students in America and throughout the world. Luther DeLoraine Wishard was born in a log-cabin farmhouse in Danville, Indiana, on April 6, 1854.² By inheritance he was fitted for the work of a pioneer and pathfinder. His great-grandfather, William Wishard, a Scotch Covenanter, was driven from the Old Country by persecution and came here to make his home about the middle of the eighteenth century, taking part in our Revolution.

After the war William Wishard took up a soldier's claim in Kentucky. With his fourteen sons and daughters, he helped to subdue the Kentucky wilderness and to wrest a living from it for his large family. One of William Wishard's grandsons, Milton M. Wishard, Luther Wishard's father, grew to manhood on a farm near Indianapolis and it was there that Luther was born. Milton Wishard's school days totalled less than a year; yet to his son, Luther, the father always bore "all the marks of a cultured gentleman." His father's ambition was to be a doctor, and the steadiness with which he pursued in the two-room log-cabin farmhouse the mastery of the books of his chosen profession was a source of lifelong inspiration and challenge to Luther. When the Civil War broke the father enlisted and, because of his medical training, found his field of usefulness during the war in a ministry to the wounded soldiers and to their helpless families. This war experience carved out for Milton Wishard the vocation to which he gave himself with zeal during the remainder of his lifetime—that of the management of homes for disabled soldiers and soldiers' orphans. These homes Milton Wishard organized in Knightstown, Indiana, in 1866, and here Luther made his home until he entered college.

² L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (MS), pp. 1-24 (Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York).

Luther's mother, Mary Eleanor Baker, was a woman of German extraction whose father and grandfather had been born in this country. She had been a district school teacher before her marriage, which occurred soon after her nineteenth birthday. A woman of rare culture and Christian character, she possessed "more than an average dower of girlish beauty." The death of his mother two years before his entrance into college was a great shock to Luther but tended to draw him into even closer companionship with his father. During the summer of 1870, preceding Luther's admission into Indiana University, his father attended, as one of the delegates from Indiana, the International Convention held at Indianapolis—the first convention to go on record as favoring the organization of Young Men's Christian Associations in the colleges. Milton Wishard returned from the Convention "so charged with spiritual electricity that he magnetized everybody with whom he came in contact."⁸ This enthusiasm for the work of the Young Men's Christian Association was communicated by the father to the son.

Family financial circumstances were always hard, and Luther was obliged to earn the money for his college education. A few months after entering Indiana University in 1870 his money gave out and he was obliged to leave the university and teach school in order to earn money. His financial situation improved somewhat and in February, 1872, he was able to matriculate at Hanover College, Indiana. Wishard became a force in the Hanover Association, which was a flourishing society carrying on devotional meetings and many forms of neighborhood Christian service.

Influenced by Robert Weidensall, the student president, H. H. Moment, determined that the college should be represented at the next International Convention at Lowell, Massachusetts, 1872. Luther Wishard was selected as the delegate. "He is a man of the right stamp," wrote Moment in a letter introducing Wishard to Weidensall. At this convention Wishard was greatly impressed by the personality of the blind chairman. Wishard's father had told him it was worth attending the Indianapolis Convention "if

⁸ L. D. Wishard, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

only to hear Thane Miller sing 'Tell Me the Old, Old Story.'"⁴ Thane Miller was a remarkable demonstration of the power of man to achieve moral and spiritual leadership in spite of seemingly impossible handicaps, and Wishard, who himself went through life with very defective eyesight, was instinctively drawn to him.

Of the Lowell Convention Wishard said:

"Robert Weidensall early attracted my attention. His name had become familiar to me through Moment. He was the only delegate of prominence and the only Association official whom I personally met and with whom I had any conversation whatsoever. He received me with all the greater cordiality because I was a college delegate. The days of the Convention passed all too quickly for me. I was in the mood of Peter on the Mountain of Transfiguration. I am sure that I had during those uplifting days, a vision of one of the world's greatest needs and of the fact that the Young Men's Christian Association had already arrived to meet that need."⁵

Like many another college conference delegate, Wishard found that the trip to Lowell had been a drain on his financial resources; indeed, when he reached Lafayette, Indiana, eighty-five miles from his Knightstown home, he had to pawn an umbrella and a gold pen in order to get enough money to carry him to Knightstown. He bought his ticket from a scalper who routed him the wrong way, with the result that he had to plead with the conductor to let him ride to his home by the payment of fifty-five cents on the \$1.20 which was the price for the balance of the trip.⁶

An experience which set him "hot on the trail" leading to the Intercollegiate Movement came through the attendance of Wishard and six other Hanover students at the Indiana State Convention at Logansport in the autumn of 1873. "So electrified" were they by the Logansport Convention that they convoked a mass meeting in the town which brought about a religious re-

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

vival "quicken[ing] the zeal in our college brotherhood work" and "literally transfigur[ing]" the lives of many in the community.

Wishard's stay at Hanover was interrupted by a period of some months in which he had to earn money; he worked selling books, organs, and pianos . . . ; on his return to Hanover he remained through the spring term of 1875. For some years Wishard had longed for the chance to complete his college education at Princeton. This had been intensified by glowing descriptions of Dr. McCosh's leadership, which had come to him from some close friends. His father had hesitated about giving his consent, partly because of his desire to have him near home and also because of the advice of friends who urged upon his father a western education for Luther. In the spring of 1875 he decided again to "storm the citadel" of his father's will and to secure if possible his consent for the Princeton adventure.⁷ After two weeks in which there was much conference and prayer, his father announced his favorable decision.

Wishard arrived at Princeton the first Tuesday evening in September, 1875. His reception by President McCosh "was dignified but cordial." The next day, in the study of the Latin professor he met a "modest, serious-looking fellow from Virginia. . . . We called him Tommy"—later to be known to the world as Woodrow Wilson. Wilson was destined to be a life-long friend of the Student Movement, "serv[ing] with us in our college society and participat[ing] eventually as college president in important functions of the Movement."⁸

Wishard immediately connected himself with the Philadelphian Society. He was disappointed to find that the society was not a College Young Men's Christian Association, but as the months passed he "became adjusted to the loss, and found much to admire in the fellowship of the Society." The Philadelphian Society had celebrated in February, 1875, its semi-centennial with the result that "a new impetus was experienced" and "the Society's influence began to extend beyond the pale of the Princeton

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

Campus to the churches in the vicinity, to Lawrenceville, and to other colleges.”⁹

The Philadelphian Society, like the Yale Moral Society and the Society of Brethren at Williams, began as a secret society called Chi Phi. When formally organized in 1825 as the Philadelphian Society by Peter J. Gulick, James Brainerd Taylor, Martin Tupper, and Tobias Epstein, it retained for a while its secret character, but became a society of missionary inquiry. The object of the society was “to promote the personal piety of its members and also all with whom they were associated.” Its missionary character was revealed in the fifth article, which directed that “on the first meeting of each month the subject of missions shall be brought before the society and a collection taken up for the benefit of the cause.”¹⁰

Professor John T. Duffield of Princeton, in an article in *The Watchman* for November 1, 1879, said: “For a time the Society seems to have met with some opposition, even from the professors of religion, but it gradually increased in numbers and influence and soon became a most important agency in promoting the religious interests of the college. For the third of a century before the organization of the society the proportion of graduates entering the ministry was not more than one-tenth. A few years after the organization, the proportion increased to one-fourth and in some classes to one-third. During the first three years of its history, thirty of its members entered the missionary field.”¹¹ Writing on Nov. 14, 1865, to the Society of Christian Brethren of Harvard College, the secretary of the Philadelphian Society invited correspondence and reported that

“the Philadelphian Society of this College has been lately reorganized. It is meant to be a bond of Christian Union in College, and is a great means of good to the College. I think all the professing Christians in this College are members of it. We meet

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁰ *The Watchman*, Y.M.C.A. semi-monthly, published Chicago, Ill., p. 241, Nov. 1, 1879. The writer has been unable to discover any of the original early record books of this society.

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

weekly on Saturday night, hold the ordinary services of a prayer meeting, and dispose of whatever business comes up, such as receiving monthly reports of the state of religion in our own and other Colleges. We have a small religious library connected with it and once a month we hold a missionary meeting. In College there are prayer meetings every evening but Friday evening. On Sunday and Monday each class has its own meeting, the one on Sunday evening being conducted by one of the Professors of the College, the one on Monday Evening by themselves. There is also one on Sabbath morning, at which some gentleman of the Faculty or Town is invited to officiate. There are also general prayer meetings on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, led by one of the Professors."

This letter also gives the religious statistics of the college, showing that of 276 students, 150 were baptized, 98 were professing Christians, 41 were preparing for the Christian ministry, and 7 for foreign missionary service. Wishard's major disappointment was over the "exclusively local character of the society," which he felt shut it out of contact with great lay leaders like Dr. Munhall, whom the general Young Men's Christian Association Movement could make available to the colleges.

The Philadelphian Society in 1875 was in its philosophy and work very much like the student Young Men's Christian Associations which were developing around it. It was a comprehensive college religious society covering the devotional, missionary, and theological emphases which characterized the older student religious societies and at the same time it had a strong service program and was a campus-centered organization. The object of the society, as stated in the Constitution adopted October 3, 1874, was "to promote the piety of its members, the cause of missions, and the interests of religion in College."¹² The society had three kinds of members: active, associate, and ex-officio.¹³ All "members of the Faculty who are professing Christians" were to be "considered ex-officio members."¹⁴ Associate membership was

¹² Record Book, the Philadelphian Society, p. 3 (Princeton MS).

¹³ Constitution of the Philadelphian Society (1874) Record Book, pp. 3-7, Article 2, Section 1 (Princeton MS).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Article 2, Section 4.

open to "any member of the college of good moral character" on approval "by two-thirds of the active members."¹⁵ The requirements for active members were more exacting—in some respects more difficult than those of the student Young Men's Christian Associations. The constitution stated that "membership of college, a unanimous election, a profession of religion, and a cordial acceptance of the obligations of the covenant are indispensable qualifications for active membership."¹⁶ Among others there was the obligation "to edify your brethren in Christ, and to promote the interests of religion among your fellow students and especially to endeavour to promote the unity and welfare of this society."

Responding to the acceptance of the covenant, the society pledged its friendship in these words: "We then do cordially receive you to the communion and fellowship of this society, and we covenant on our part, by God's grace, to love you with all Christian affection, to watch over you with all Christian fidelity and tenderness, to comfort and encourage you in times of temptation, and especially to offer our earnest prayers that God would enable you by his grace to fulfil the solemn covenant which you have taken upon your soul."¹⁷

The work of the society was done through the following committees appointed by the president at the first regular meeting of his office: "Committee on Religion in the College; Committee on Missions; Committee on General Religious Work."¹⁸

The Committee on Religion in the college did its work through class sub-committees, each of these being responsible for two class prayer meetings held on Sunday and Monday evenings of each week. Some impression of the interest in these class prayer meetings may be gained from the following brief excerpts from committee reports made in a society meeting in the early autumn of Wishard's first year at Princeton:

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Article 2, Section 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Article 2, Section 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Article 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Article 6.

"Nov. 20th, 1875. Committeeman from class of '78 . . . reported, as follows:

Professing Christians, 40. Candidates for ministry, 18, as near as can be found out. Attendance on meeting has been good. The Sunday eve. meetings have avg. of 57. Monday evg. meetings 25. The general state of rel. in class at beginning of term was poor. The S. S. enterprises at Queenston, Stony Brook & Witherspoon St. are supplied in part or entirely by members of this class."¹⁹

That the cause of missions was not in high repute at Princeton at this time may be judged from a request from the Committee on Missions that the article of the constitution providing for such a committee "be stricken out." The reasons given for this request were:

"1. The by-law provides that it shall be the duty of this committee to collect money for the cause of missions. This has never been done by former committees; & is almost impracticable, for the members already complain of the expenses connected with the society, and a subscription paper every eight weeks, wd. soon grow monotonous. 2. It is our duty in connection with the president, to appoint persons to make addresses before the society. This also is a dead letter & the expense of having a stranger speak before us frequently would soon empty our treasury. For these reasons we wd. urge its repeal."²⁰

In this semi-centennial year (1875) of the society's existence its membership included "110 active members"—"only about one-half the number of professing Christians in College."²¹ The general religious work took the form of organizing and maintaining Sunday schools in villages surrounding Princeton—"the class of '76 having a dozen gentlemen engaged outside of college in practical work."²² That the cause of temperance was one of the society's interests may be judged from the fact that a special committee "appointed to institute means for advancing the cause of temperance in the college"²³ . . . reported favorably as to the

¹⁹ Record Book, the Philadelphian Society, Nov. 20, 1875 (Princeton MS).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, May 15, 1875.

²² *Ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1875.

²³ *Ibid.*, May 15, 1875.

organization of a Temperance Society.”²⁴ Perhaps “the chief feature” of this semi-centennial year was “the successful effort to replenish the library. Several times in the past five years” such efforts had uniformly failed: the cost of the circulars issued usually about equalling the value of the donations received. “This year the amount of the collections are a little less than \$900. Two hundred and fifty-eight volumes have been added to the library and \$640 have been deposited with the treasurer of the College as a fund.”²⁵ The records for this year also give evidence of a real sense of intercollegiate fellowship with other college religious societies. Letters are reported from societies at Dartmouth, Bowdoin, Yale,²⁶ and Oberlin,²⁷ making clear that the “exclusively local character of the society” which so greatly troubled Luther Wishard as an entering student in the fall of 1875 was an accident of the historical development of the society rather than an expression of provincial interests.

The committee reports and records of meetings for the spring and fall months of 1875 make clear, however, a feeling on the part of its members that the more distinctively evangelistic aspects of its work were at a low ebb. They said: “At various times during the year there has been among Christians a partial awakening of interest. But this feeling has not been permanent or contagious and never assumed very great dimensions. There have been few conversions in College and none of those so far as I know are due to the direct influence of this society. It must be sadly confessed that it has been a year of religious deadness and that the primary need of the society is a revival of religion.” It is against this background of “religious deadness” that the growth during the autumn and winter of 1875-76 of deep concern among Christian students for a revival of religion must be seen. It was quite natural for Luther Wishard, with his previous successful evangelistic experiences, to find himself at home in the Philadelphian Society and to identify himself with those who were praying and working for a “revival of religion at Princeton.”

In the autumn of 1875 Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey

²⁴ *Ibid.*, May 29, 1875.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1875.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1875.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1875.

were conducting great evangelistic meetings in New Jersey, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia. Many of the great cities of the country were in the midst of a revival of religion. Wishard and several Philadelphian Society leaders were eager to get Mr. Moody to Princeton. To their great joy, President McCosh surprised them one morning by announcing that he had just talked with Mr. Moody "in the town of Philadelphia" and that Mr. Moody had agreed to speak to Princeton students on the Day of Prayer for students, the last Thursday of January, 1876. Feeling sure that great religious miracles would take place because of Mr. Moody's expected visit, the Philadelphian Society leaders went "happily forward with their work." Shortly before the appointed day a wire came cancelling the engagement because of the illness of Mr. Moody's son in Florida. The first feeling of the Philadelphian Society group was one of utter dismay and hopelessness, but this was soon followed by a recognition of their "sole dependence upon the all-powerful spirit of God" for any religious awakening that might "happen at Princeton or anywhere else."²⁸

Quickened by this conviction, three of the student leaders of the Philadelphian Society met to consider what could be done. They entered into an agreement to unite with other students in devoting the Day of Prayer to personal religious appeals to unconverted fellow students. The little group became the center of a real revival of religion. Meetings for conference and prayer were held frequently between that time and the Day of Prayer. The group rapidly grew from three to ten and then to as many as fifty or sixty.

The Day of Prayer came. Of this day Wishard says: "There has rarely been such a day of individual recruiting for the Kingdom. The effects of our appeals began to appear at a noonday meeting for prayer." The work of this little "band of youths whose heart God had touched" prepared the way for a series of meetings under the leadership of Rev. William Taylor, of Broadway Tabernacle, New York, joined a little later by Mr. Moody, who returned from his son's sick bed to help in this Princeton

²⁸ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (MS), pp. 55-56 (Historical Library, Y.M.C.A., New York).

student-revival movement. The preliminary work of the students, together with Dr. Taylor's and Mr. Moody's remarkable sermons, brought about one of the greatest religious awakenings ever experienced in the history of Princeton. Men by the dozens and scores came to fellow students, professors, and to the visiting preachers "to ask the question of the Philippian jailer, 'What must I do to be saved?'"

Professor Duffield speaks of this revival as "the most remarkable that ever occurred in the history of the institution. . . . As a result, more than eighty of the students made a public profession of their faith in Christ and with a few exceptions they have since maintained a persistent Christian profession. . . . The gracious work extended beyond the college and about 150 were added to the different evangelical churches of the town. At the request of the pastors several churches in the vicinity of Princeton were visited and addressed by members of the Philadelphian Society and their labors were followed by powerful revivals. Delegations of the Society visited, by request, other colleges to tell what 'great things the Lord had done' for Princeton."²⁹

It was out of the new passion and religious insight born in this revival movement that the way was prepared for the union of the Philadelphian Society with the Young Men's Christian Association and the launching of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association movement. The part that Wishard had played in the leadership of this student religious awakening brought his remarkable gifts for student religious leadership in a striking manner to the attention of his fellow students, with the result that in the autumn of 1876 he was elected to the presidency of the Philadelphian Society.³⁰

The matter of relating the Philadelphian Society to the Young Men's Christian Association was discussed first in June, 1876, by Wishard and his intimate friend and classmate, Fred Campbell. Campbell, like Wishard, had had a good deal of previous experience in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association. Campbell's response to Wishard's proposal was enthusiastic and

²⁹ *The Watchman*, Nov. 1, 1879, p. 241.

³⁰ Record Book, the Philadelphian Society, Oct. 21, 1876 (Princeton MS).

at the next meeting of the Philadelphian Society "Mr. F. Campbell '77 moved that a Com. of five be appointed to consider the advisability of changing the Phila. Soc. into a branch of the Y.M.C.A. of America. Carried." The society appointed a "committee of investigation composed of Messrs. F. Campbell, Jacobus, Wishard, '77, Dulles, '78, and Kerr, '79³¹ . . . understanding that their action would not commit them in any way to going forward with such an arrangement."

During the summer of 1876 Wishard conferred with Robert McBurney, general secretary of the New York City Association, and Richard C. Morse, General Secretary of the International Committee. These Association leaders agreed that the Philadelphian Society might be related to the Young Men's Christian Association by making two very simple changes in the organization of the society. The first would be the insertion in their constitution, after the name, Philadelphian Society, of the words "which is the Young Men's Christian Association of Princeton University." The second change would be to insert the word "evangelical" before the word "religion" in the membership-requirement section of the Philadelphian Society constitution.³² Under this plan the Philadelphian Society would need to make no change in its name and would simply bring its membership provisions into harmony with the evangelical-church-membership requirement for active membership in the Young Men's Christian Association.

Shortly after college opened in the autumn of 1876 Wishard and Campbell consulted with members of the faculty and the leaders in the Philadelphian Society regarding these suggestions. Some favored and some opposed the action. Wishard's desire to see the society related to the Young Men's Christian Association arose from his convictions regarding "the benefits which he believed the student body would derive through close fellowship with Christian business men, and the consequent turning down of the gowinishness fostered by the exclusiveness of college life." Wishard realized the mutual advantages involved in the inter-

³¹ *Loc. cit.*

³² Article 2, Section 2, of the Philadelphian Constitution (1874).

play within one Christian movement of students and professors with men and boys in all ranks of life. It was his strong conviction that a purely college movement lost much because of its lack of contact with young men in other walks of life. Those who opposed felt that the society might lose some of its individuality if it became a part of the larger organization. At the meeting of the society on September 23, 1876, "Mr. F. Campbell, '77, made a verbal report from committee on changing the Philadelphian Society into a branch of the Y.M.C.A., promising a full report at the next meeting and urging the society to think of the matter." ³³

In the private scrapbook of Mr. Wishard there is a letter from his friend and classmate, Frederick Campbell, containing extracts from a diary kept by Campbell during the period of this discussion. Under date of October 14th, he made the following note in his diary: "Held a preliminary meeting of our Young Men's Christian Association Committee. Wishard and I called on Professor Duffield and talked with him about the matter; he is doubtful." Professor Duffield was at that time the faculty friend and advisor of the Philadelphian Society. Under date of October 21st, Mr. Campbell wrote the following: "Business meeting of the Philadelphian Society at which the Committees on Missions and on Young Men's Christian Association, of both of which I was chairman, reported." ³⁴

On October 21, 1876, the committee "upon changing the Society into a branch of the Y.M.C.A." reported to the Philadelphian Society that it "seems best to advise the Society to retain its old organization, and at the same time to ask permission of the Young Men's Christian Association to send delegates to their conventions, through which delegates we shall be recognized as an active Christian body and allowed through these delegates to have a vote in the proceedings of the convention." ³⁵ That the society even then was not ready to act on this may be judged

³³ Record Book, the Philadelphian Society, Sept. 23, 1876 (Princeton MS).

³⁴ Personal Scrapbook of Luther D. Wishard (Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York).

³⁵ Record Book, the Philadelphian Society, Oct. 21, 1876 (Princeton MS).

by the fact that the "report was accepted" but "the motion to adopt was laid on the table." Final action on this proposal was not taken until November 18, 1876, when "Mr. F. Campbell moved that we apply to the Y.M.C.A. for the privilege of sending delegates with the understanding that we do not thus become a branch of the Y.M.C.A. (Carried.) . . . Mr. F. Campbell offered the following amendment: To introduce the word 'evangelical' before the word 'religion' in the requirement for active membership."³⁶

By these two actions the Philadelphian Society entered into a friendly affiliation with the Y.M.C.A. without at the time becoming a "branch" of the Movement or giving up its independence. The action was another and extremely significant expression of this urge for wider Christian movement-fellowship, particularly with Christian student societies in other colleges. The consequences of the guarded affiliation to the intercollegiate religious life of the country could not at the time have been foreseen by Wishard and the leaders of this movement for relating the Philadelphian Society to the rapidly-growing Young Men's Christian Association Movement.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, Nov. 18, 1876.

CHAPTER IX

THE BIRTH OF THE INTERCOLLEGIATE MOVEMENT

ON Sunday afternoon, December 10, 1875, there occurred what Wishard described as the "capital event" in the evolution of the idea of the Intercollegiate Student Christian Movement. It came as the result of an invitation given to Wishard as president of the Philadelphian Society to meet Mr. William Earl Dodge, who that day was visiting his two sons, William Earl (age sixteen) and Cleveland (age eighteen), who were Princeton undergraduates. Mr. Dodge, a successful business man, was at that time the most forceful layman in the Young Men's Christian Association, serving both as president of the New York City Association, and as chairman of the International Committee. Mr. Dodge had learned through his sons of Wishard's leadership in relating the Philadelphian Society to the Young Men's Christian Association. Their conversation centered around "the great spiritual movement in the college during the preceding year and the limited effort which our society had made to extend the spirit of that movement to neighboring colleges and the possibility of further work along that same line."¹ Wishard had not at this time conceived the idea of an intercollegiate movement; in fact, he was not aware of the existence of enough college Associations to make a movement possible. He was simply eager to discover ways by which the Philadelphian Society could extend, through deputations to colleges near by, the benefits that they were receiving from their relationship with the Young Men's Christian Association. As these matters were discussed Mr. Dodge called Wishard's attention to the International Convention that was to be

¹ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (MS), p. 60 (Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York).

held in Louisville, Kentucky, June, 1877. He suggested that Princeton take the initiative in inviting delegates from the colleges to Louisville to consider the possibility of the further extension of Young Men's Christian Associations into other colleges by deputations or in other ways.

Mr. Dodge's proposal greatly kindled the imagination of his two sons and Wishard, who were eager to respond to the challenge with which Mr. Dodge summarized their discussion. Of the suggestion Wishard said: "Only one more passage in our conversation is distinctly recalled, but to my mind it was the clinching of the nail which had been driven. Mr. Dodge said: 'You fellows are clearly impressed with the need of such action as we have been considering. You acknowledge that it is a good thing. Now, the men who make their mark on their generation are not only those who see that a thing ought to be done, but who promptly do it. The simple explanation of Mr. Moody, the most conspicuous Christian leader of our generation, is that when he discovers a good thing he goes straight and does it.'"² The significance of this interview and challenge grew upon Wishard as he meditated upon it. Gradually there came into his mind a picture of Princeton's taking the leadership in effecting an intercollegiate union of the Student Christian Associations. Of this Wishard said: "Soon we separated, but the memory of the interview did not burn out; while I mused the fire burned. What Princeton ought to do in nearby colleges, other institutions also ought to do. If such work were to extend and abide, there must be organization and coöperation through *permanent union*."³

Wishard began at once to talk with other students about this idea. Some, like his roommate, "distrusted the feasibility of an intercollegiate movement within the international organization and were at first disposed to stand strongly for an exclusively student movement, which might be called an Intercollegiate Christian Union."⁴

² L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (MS.), p. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Wishard was opposed to an "exclusively student movement" because he felt that a movement made up wholly of students and professors would lose a great deal by being deprived of the stimulus that had come to him through contact with the practical business men who made up the Young Men's Christian Association and that an independent student movement would "deprive the city Associations of the steady inflow of men from the colleges."⁵

The later history of this Movement has given much support to this position. During the past fifty years most of the great lay leaders and secretaries of every phase of the Young Men's Christian Association work at home and abroad have come from the life of the Intercollegiate Movement. Even more significant have been such priceless spiritual gifts of the Intercollegiate Movement to the Association Brotherhood as its missionary interest and foreign work program, the idealism and conquering optimism of youth in its assemblies, its help in keeping within the Young Men's Christian Association the sense of adventure and the radiance of the Movement, its urge for reality on such problems as its membership basis and its attitude toward social and industrial issues, its service as a corrective to those institutional aspects of the Young Men's Christian Association which, unless understood and controlled, strangle every creative and prophetic impulse in the life of the Movement.

The discussion of this idea of an Intercollegiate Christian Movement associated with the Y.M.C.A. was continued during the Christmas holidays by Wishard and a deputation of students who spent their vacation in Hackettstown, New Jersey, at the home of the Rev. Thomas McCauley, to whom they gave their aid in the leadership of evangelistic services. The group at Hackettstown became convinced as to the advisability of the plan as it had grown in Wishard's mind since his interview with Mr. Dodge; but they felt that, if the plan was to succeed, some one should offer to give all his time for a year or two in getting this new work in the colleges started. They felt that Wishard should regard himself as called of God to start this Movement in the

⁵ *Ibid.*

colleges, and that he should offer himself to Mr. Dodge and the International Committee for such service. Wishard shrank from making any such approaches to Mr. Dodge. The Hackettstown group strongly favored Princeton's taking the initiative in inviting the colleges to join with them in an Intercollegiate Christian Student Conference at Louisville.⁶

On the return of the Hackettstown deputation to Princeton in January, the idea was discussed with faculty advisers and other members of the Philadelphian Society. The approval of the proposal was so general that on January 20, 1877, the Philadelphian Society authorized the president to appoint a committee of five "to enter into correspondence with the religious societies in other colleges."⁷ The minutes give none of the discussion of the "feasibility and advantages of intercollegiate coöperation," or of the Louisville Conference plan, which the later actions reveal as the background for this action. This committee held its first meeting on February 17, 1877, in Wishard's room, No. 1, southeast, to consider a draft of a circular to the colleges drawn up by Wishard. At the society meeting on the same date the committee was authorized "to draw up a letter and have printed 100 copies to be sent to other colleges in regard to sending delegates to the Y.M.C.A. Conference which meets at Louisville in June next."⁸

Very soon after the appointment of the committee to draft this letter to the colleges, Wishard happened upon an article by Robert Weidensall in the January 1, 1877, issue of *The Watchman*, which called upon the Young Men's Christian Association to give much more aggressive and able leadership to its rapidly-growing work in the colleges. Wishard had had no contact with Mr. Weidensall since their meeting at the Lowell Convention in 1872. Weidensall, on the other hand, was quite ignorant of the movement at Princeton. The article by Mr. Weidensall was entitled "The Young Men's Christian Association in Institutions of Learning." The following paragraphs from this article reveal the

⁶ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (ms), pp. 62-63.

⁷ Record Book, the Philadelphian Society, Jan. 20, 1877 (Princeton ms).

⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1877.

prophetic insight of Mr. Weidensall into the significance of the college work, and also give another of the many evidences that we have found in the trail of the history of this idea of voluntary student societies of the way in which widely-separated groups of people at about the same time became sensitive to the revelation that God was striving to make of his plan for work among students:

"One of the most promising features of the Young Men's Christian Association cause at the present time is *its progressive Christian work in the colleges and universities of the land.*

"The Association is a necessity in every state school, especially in its University. It is the only work that can be harmoniously and energetically operated within them. *The evangelical Christians of every State should see that a good Association building is erected by voluntary offerings on or near the student university grounds to facilitate the united efforts of the Christian students and professors in reaching all the members of the University for Christ.* It is almost indispensable in the denominational school to interest the Christian students of all denominations represented in it in a united work to lead all the unconverted students to the Saviour.

"There is no field of Christian labor so inviting. *One student may do more in leading other students to Jesus, during his college course than he could ever do in a like time afterward; for he duplicates himself every time a student is converted through his instrumentality.*"⁹

Of the impression that this article made on Wishard he says:

"Only one inventor who has suddenly collided with another, who has been cherishing a similar line of thought, can appreciate the impression made upon me by the article of that Association pioneer. It was inspiring beyond expression to meet again this kindred spirit through the medium of cold type nearly five years after our last and only meeting. There had been no communication between us nor had I ever been privileged to hear or know anything whatever concerning his life and work. . . . His article fanned the fire which had already been kindled and after entering

⁹ *The Watchman*, Jan. 1, 1877, p. 3. (Italics are the author's.)

upon the service, his faith in the movement and his encouragement did more than anything else to nerve me for the battles.”¹⁰

When the committee appointed by the Philadelphian Society to draw up the letter to the colleges made its report on March 17, 1877, the draft was accepted, with the following statement: “That it be shortened and so worded as to welcome further consultation in regard to forming some organization, *more distinctly Collegiate in character*.”¹¹ Again it becomes clear that there were influences at work within the Philadelphian Society that at least wanted to leave the door open for the forming of the intercollegiate movement, independent of the Young Men’s Christian Association if the delegates at Louisville should be led that way.

The committee sent its letter to two hundred colleges, addressing it to the president of the college and asking that he turn it over to the officers of the religious society if one existed. This letter “called attention to the deplorable dearth of Christian influences and the glaring lack of earnest Christian effort among the students of our Colleges: also to the special importance and duty of making rigorous and united exertion, to the end that the educated element in our country may be made subservient to its higher religious interests. In consideration of which we proposed a system of correspondence between the colleges; and inter-visits among those situated near each other. We also called attention to the recognized benefits derived from inter-collegiate relations of a secular character, and in order to secure on a higher spiritual plane a similar fruitage for the blessed Master, we proposed the establishment of some kind of an inter-collegiate organization of a religious character. That these various suggestions might be duly considered and acted upon, we proposed that all should meet at Louisville, Ky., on June 6-10th in connection with the Y.M.C.A. Convention.”¹²

¹⁰ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students’ Era in Christian History* (MS), p. 65.

¹¹ Record Book, the Philadelphian Society, March 17, 1877 (Princeton MS).

¹² *Ibid.*, May 19, 1877.

On May 19th, the committee reported responses from forty colleges "expressing hearty sympathy with the suggestion of our letter."¹³ Some of these colleges "had no religious society whatsoever, but were brought to realize its need and were proceeding to organize one."¹⁴ At least twenty of them promised to send delegates to Louisville.¹⁵ The committee felt "amply repaid in the good influence already exerted" by their correspondence, and hoped that "the movement will ultimately result, if faithfully followed up, in enlisting all the institutions of the land in a united and much more active Christian effort through a permanent organization, and thus tell for good throughout our whole national life. The history of all great organizations for good lead us to expect that it will require time and effort to realize the full measure of good anticipated, but it will be none the less real and grand on that account, and none the less worthy to be labored and prayed for."¹⁶

On the strength of this report, the society authorized the committee to send a second letter to those colleges that had indicated their intention of being represented at Louisville, telling them where to meet and giving them instructions with regard to credentials, programs, etc. They also recommended that: "Mr. Wishard, who will be at Louisville, be appointed as one of our delegates and that we elect another to represent our college in connection with him; also that a committee of three be appointed to collect what they can to defray his expenses and that the deficiency be made up out of the treasury."¹⁷

The Louisville Convention assembled on June 6, 1877, thirty-three years from the date of the formation of the Young Men's Christian Association by the little group of twelve drapers' clerks in the establishment of Hitchcock and Company, London. At the close of the first session "twenty-five delegates from twenty-one colleges in twelve states and the District of Columbia met at a designated point in the Convention Hall in Louisville and then and there the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association

¹³ Record Book, the Philadelphian Society, March 17, 1877 (Princeton MS).

¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Movement was born which had been dreamed and planned and prayed into existence.”¹⁸

In view of the steady growth of the Young Men's Christian Association work in Negro colleges, as well as in other colleges of the country, it is interesting to note that there were delegates from three colored colleges—Fisk, Howard, and Walden—at the Louisville meeting.

It should be noted that, although this conference was representative of the Y.M.C.A.'s. in colleges, it could hardly be regarded as representative of the student religious societies which were organized in most of the two hundred colleges to which invitations had been sent. *The Young Men's Christian Association Year Book* for 1877 contained reports from twenty-six student Young Men's Christian Associations. A careful study of the schools and colleges in which Y.M.C.A.'s. had been organized prior to 1877 gives a list of nearly seventy different institutions.¹⁹ It would probably be safe to say that there were active Associations in from forty to fifty of these colleges at the time of the Louisville meeting. The Louisville College Conference included delegates from fully half of these active college Young Men's Christian Associations.

The students at Louisville divided their time between the sessions of the convention and the special student meetings. The College Conference met in the Presbyterian Church near the convention hall. Wishard, as leader of the Princeton delegation that had called the conference, was made chairman of the College Conference, and Joseph Gilchrist of Hanover College was chosen as recording secretary. In his unpublished memoirs Mr. Wishard says: "Our work was not steered or in any way dictated by the members of the International Committee. I presume they purposely kept away in order that the founders of the new department of the Association Brotherhood might work out their salvation in their own way and impress upon the Movement about

¹⁸ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (MS), p. 69 (Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York).

¹⁹ Based on study of Associations listed in *Young Men's Christian Association Year Books* 1858-77 and reported in official magazines.

to be precipitated the stamp of a distinctly student identity.”²⁰

As a bit of strategy this was peculiarly wise in view of the fact that the circular calling the conference had indicated that the students would be free to form whatever type of intercollegiate Christian organization seemed to them wise. Moreover, the invitation sent out by Princeton had been sent to all of the colleges, and delegates had been invited whether or not these colleges had student Young Men's Christian Associations or some different type of religious society. The discussions centered around methods of intercollegiate coöperation, the sphere of influence and responsibility of individual student religious societies, personal work, the promotion of prayer life, Bible study, and work in the neighborhood of the college. Speaking of the fellowship and discussions in this first National Intercollegiate Christian Student Conference, Wishard later said, “I shall never recall those days in June without the same old thrill. They were days of transfiguration and destiny.”²¹

On the morning of June 9th, the Louisville Convention gave its session to a discussion of the work of united Young Men's Christian Association work in the colleges. Mr. Wishard was invited to present to the conference the proposals of the college group. He did so, as follows:

1. The importance of seeking the salvation of students for their own sake and their influence as educated men.
2. The importance of securing their salvation *while in college*.
3. The value of united work and prayer. The conference decided that the success of Christian work in college depended upon:
 1. Diligent study of the Word of God
 2. Prayer
 3. Personal work
 4. Efficient organization.

Guided by these general principles and convictions, the college delegates recommended:

²⁰ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (MS), pp. 70-71.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

1. Systematic inter-association correspondence for mutual encouragement and an exchange of ideas.
2. Inter-association visitation, especially at times of revivals.
3. The appointment of a College Secretary to supervise and organize the work.
4. That every college Association subscribe for the Association periodical, *The Watchman*.

The discussion was opened by H. M. McDonald of Princeton, who among other things said: "We sent out circulars to two hundred colleges and normal schools, requesting them to send delegates to this Convention, in order that we might take counsel how, by correspondence and other wise means, we might promote the cause of Christ in our colleges. . . . There are in the country between three hundred and four hundred educational institutions open to this work, and as far as we can find out, there are less than fifty in which Societies for Christian work are organized. Mr. Wishard, who is to follow me, will tell you of the meeting yesterday of the college delegates, and the desire they express for the aid of this Convention and its Committee in establishing Associations in all these educational centres."²²

Mr. Weidensall, with his usual enthusiasm for the college work, said: "I believe there is no other field for Association work so promising." Professor A. K. Spence of Fisk, he said, was the first to see the possibilities of this field and force the attention of the Movement to it. Speaking of the needs of the field, he advocated again the employment by the committee of a college secretary for this work, saying: "I hope and believe that soon some liberal intelligent men will give a fund of \$25,000 or \$50,000 to enable the International Committee to select and send out a man to organize this work for Christ in our educational institutions."²³

S. A. Taggart, State Secretary of Pennsylvania, and a college man, said: "I hope we will take decided action to place and sustain a man in this field."²⁴ Regarding the appointment of a col-

²² Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations, Louisville, Kentucky, June 6-10, 1877, p. 66.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

lege secretary to supervise and organize the work, Mr. Wishard said that the college secretary "must, of course, at the outset be willing to work for nothing so far as money is concerned and be content to wait for his wages till eternity," adding further regarding the probability of this secretary's receiving his salary with any degree of regularity, "he may not be compelled to wait long, but he should be ready to do so."²⁵ With all the enthusiasm of his personality, Wishard urged definite action by the convention, especially along the lines suggested by the college conference. Wishard, as well as the other delegates to the college conference, thought of the college secretary as primarily a man who would provide the facilities for correspondence between the associations in the different colleges, a form of intercollegiate activity that had proven its value for a half-century but now, with many more colleges, could no longer be carried forward in a desultory fashion. "This correspondence was not to be simply an exchange of formal reports, but the letters warm-hearted and familiar, such as sympathetic Christian friends engaged in a common work would write to one another."²⁶

A student from the South—Henry Miller of Mississippi State University—followed Wishard. To those familiar with the American and British Student Movements and the World's Student Christian Federation since 1915, it will be of interest to know that Henry Miller was the father of Francis P. Miller, who has given such effective leadership on the national staffs of the American and British Movements and who, in 1934, is chairman of the World's Student Christian Federation; and of William McE. Miller, who has also served on the National Staff of the American Movement and, in 1934, is doing pioneer missionary work in Persia. Henry Miller reported:

"Our experience during the past year is a testimony to the benefit of the intercollegiate correspondence proposed. Three months ago we received a communication from Princeton College, which has been referred to. We replied and secured a copy of the Constitution of the Young Men's Christian Association

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

and as soon as we saw the work being done by these Associations we immediately organized one among ourselves and for the last two months we have had a society of twenty-five active members, and are going forward with the work. With the assistance that is given us by this Convention, and from the correspondence with the Young Men's Christian Association in colleges all over the land, we hope to secure such an impetus in Christian work among our young men as shall cause a great awakening." ²⁷

Rev. J. W. Darby of Evansville, Indiana, who, with Professor Spence, had been the only two college delegates present at the Detroit Convention in 1868, when the first attempt had been made to get the International Convention to act regarding the college work, said among other things: "When I went to the University of Michigan, the first thing I sought was the Young Men's Christian Association and through it I learned more of the practical work of the ministry, aside from theological training, than I received in the Seminary. . . . If you will only think of it, the young men who will occupy the pulpits of our land ten years from now are today in the colleges. Start an Association in every college and you will never lack friends in the ministry." ²⁸

Rev. William Jones, D.D., of Richmond, Virginia, one of the founders of the University of Virginia Association, telling of the good work at Virginia and at Washington and Lee, concluded: "If it be true that the educated mind rules the world, surely we should do all in our power to see to it that this educated mind is Christianized." ²⁹

The discussion was closed by Professor Adam K. Spence, whose remarks throw considerable light both on his devotion to the cause and on the character of the Student Christian Association at the University of Michigan during the first year or two of its existence:

"A Christian Association was formed in the winter of 1857-8. At first, however, the society was not successful; for it took the

²⁷ Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations, Louisville, Kentucky, June 6-10, 1877, p. 68.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

form of a theological debating club, and was a lifeless affair; but later they undertook work for Christ. Three young men, week after week and month after month, met together twice a day to pray to God for the cause of Christ in that institution. For twelve years it was my privilege to labor with Christians of all denominations in that college. We felt our unity in Christ, and the work was greatly blessed, and the society became a center of spiritual power in that great institution of the Northwest. John Knox once prayed, 'Oh, God, give me Scotland, or I die!' I have seemed sometimes to pray this prayer, 'Oh, God, give us the colleges, the universities, the seminaries of our land, or we die!' Let us all appreciate, and act as if we appreciated, the greatness and importance of this work."³⁰

In his report to the convention Mr. Wishard had said: "By correspondence, and, if possible, visitation, he [a Corresponding Secretary] should bring to his assistance a State or District Secretary for every group of institutions in the different states, or in larger sections of the country. These could greatly assist him in gathering statistics and in keeping him in communication with all parts of his field. He should furnish to each a list of institutions having Associations, and they could see that this list was received by every Society on their field."³¹ These assistant secretaries in the states were to be volunteers who would assist the National Corresponding Secretary in the Movement's work within the different states. Their appointment by the Corresponding Secretary, and approval by the International Committee, would give a simplicity and unity to the oversight of the work in the colleges that one wishes might have been retained when in the stronger states these assistant secretaries later became employed secretaries. The victory was won and later the same morning the following resolutions were presented to the convention and accepted:

1. That a Corresponding Secretary be appointed by International Committee to take charge of the general work of the Associations in colleges and other higher educational institutions during the ensuing two years.

³⁰ Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations, Louisville, Kentucky, June 6-10, 1877, pp. 69-70.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

2. That this Corresponding Secretary appoint an assistant secretary in each state or province to take charge of the general work of the Associations in the colleges and other institutions of learning in his state or province. These appointments shall be made subject to the approval of the International Committee.
3. The International Executive Committee shall define the duties of the college Corresponding Secretary and his assistants.³²

Luther D. Wishard, conference chairman, was recommended for this position and his nomination was confirmed by the International Convention. While the acceptance of this position meant a drastic change in plans for Wishard, the call appeared to him to be so urgent that he was unable to refuse it.

Years afterwards, speaking of the situation in which he found himself at this time with the responsibilities of the college secretaryship thrust upon him, Wishard said to Moody: "We hardly knew what such an officer would do. His chief business, we supposed, would be to conduct correspondence with the colleges. We hardly thought of any visitation. . . . I took the place simply because no one else seemed willing to take it. Little idea had I of what I was assuming. If I had known what was before me I should probably never have accepted as I had other work in view."³³

The Louisville Convention action made possible the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement. If this convention had not acted so generously and so promptly, some other independent intercollegiate Christian student movement most certainly would have developed, sooner or later. It is fair to say that the student Christian Associations represented by the student delegates at Louisville *sought adoption by the Young Men's Christian Association* because they believed, after considering other alternatives, that this plan would make available friendship and financial resources for the building up of the most effective possible type of intercollegiate student Christian movement. The convention reports make clear that the student delegates at Louisville first united on the idea of intercollegiate or-

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

³³ *A College of Colleges*, 1887, edited by T. J. Shanks, p. 13.

ganization and then decided that it was better to affiliate with the Young Men's Christian Association than to organize as an independent student Christian movement. A careful historical statement prepared a few years after the event said: "At the meeting of the delegates, the question arose whether the new agency would become an organization exclusively pertaining to the colleges, or a department of the work of the Young Men's Christian Association under the supervision of the International Committee. The latter plan was adopted."³⁴

Wishard's report in *The Watchman* for November 1, 1877, reflects the spirit of the Louisville College Conference:

"The too great tendency of conventions to construct an unwieldy, complicated scheme which it is difficult to utilize, we tried to avoid. Nor was it thought desirable to form a new organization distinct from the Young Men's Christian Association. That Association is already well organized, and the work it is doing is the same kind the colleges desire to do. There are already too many religious organizations. What is needed at this time is a more concentrated movement on the part of Christians. We want to see what the result will be, if the united strength of representatives from all departments of business and professional life is directed in one solid blow against the enemy of our salvation."³⁵

Louisville, in proposing system and direction for intercollegiate correspondence and inter-visitation, and in providing for a national college secretary, magazine, and conferences, made the first beginnings in the provision of corporate channels for the achievement of the desires of earlier societies for fellowship and sense of common cause through intercollegiate, interdenominational and international activity. The earlier system of correspondence seems to have broken down long before Louisville, due no doubt to the growing complexity of national life and the impossibility of any two or three societies carrying the load of keeping this sense of fellowship alive in two or three hundred colleges. Vivid testimony to the truth of this observation is given

³⁴ *The Gospel Union News*, February, 1885.

³⁵ *The Watchman*, Nov. 1, 1877, p. 242.

by the fact that the Louisville delegates seemed to feel that their proposals for extensive intercollegiate correspondence represented something quite new in the experience of Christian student societies.

The Gospel Union News, a paper published in New Haven, Connecticut, after rehearsing the steps leading up to the development of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement said: "As we have seen, Louisville does not mark the beginning of the organized promotion of Young Men's Christian Association work in the colleges, yet it does mark the most important single event in the history of the college Young Men's Christian Association work, namely, its establishment as a separate department of the work of the International Committee, with a secretary approved by the college associations themselves to supervise its development. With this establishment of the intercollegiate department there begins a development of Christian work among college men that was soon to unite in fraternal bonds more college men than any other single intercollegiate tie." The fact that the evolution of student voluntary religious societies ultimately would have made inevitable some type of intercollegiate student Christian organization, makes all the more significant the contribution of Luther Wishard and the Princeton group in bringing about the organization of this student Christian movement when they did, and as a part of the rapidly-growing Young Men's Christian Association movement. Of Princeton's unique contribution to this result, Wishard said: "The one thing needful, the *sine qua non* for the proposed movement . . . was not only a man behind the gun but a great college behind the man behind the gun. . . . This was Princeton's original and unique contribution and this was the peculiar service to which I was called not by flesh and blood. The very nature of the case was such that the Movement among the colleges must proceed from within and not from without."³⁶

³⁶ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (MS), p. 66.

CHAPTER X

PIONEERING AND GROWING

THE acceptance of the college secretaryship by Wishard was not without misgivings. He was being called to serve in a new and untried position for which there was little, if any, guarantee of financial support. The position was largely conceived in terms of correspondence and publications, with perhaps occasional visits to colleges near by. Wishard had made plans for study at Union Theological Seminary. This leadership of the intercollegiate religious life of students on the American continent was thought of as a position that could be covered by a man dividing his time between study and the work.

Wishard's summer was occupied as general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association at Lafayette, Indiana. Prior to the Louisville meeting, he had refused an attractive call to the general secretaryship of a city Association. While serving the Lafayette Association he attended, in August, 1877, a State Y.M.C.A. Convention at Indianapolis, where he was "surprised and gratified" to find on the list of convention speakers Robert McBurney. Wishard had received no word since Louisville of the action of the International Committee on the proposals for the college secretaryship.

This meeting with McBurney furnished Wishard an opportunity to confer regarding his "actual and early assumption of the work" to which he now "seemed so clearly called." McBurney assured Wishard of the purpose of the committee to establish the college secretaryship, as instructed by the convention, but shared with him the financial difficulties confronting the committee. He asked Wishard how much money would be needed to meet expenses at Union, provided Wishard gave part-time to the college secretaryship. Wishard's estimate was that he would

probably need \$250 "to supplement other very limited income." This amount would enable him "to devote to the Intercollegiate Movement the time from study which many theological students are obliged to give to church mission work as a means of support." This figure did not seem to stagger McBurney.¹

The first regular meeting of the International Committee after Louisville was on September 13, 1877. At this meeting Mr. McBurney reported his conference with Wishard, with the following result: "On the motion of R. N. McBurney, Mr. L. D. Wishard was invited to act as College Secretary without compensation."² The vote of the committee meant that the funds for Wishard's services must be raised in some way independent of the small budget of the International Committee. McBurney and Morse consulted Mr. Dodge and he "responded with counsel which was literally golden." His contribution was supplemented by a generous pledge from one of Wishard's classmates, a member of '77, Dr. William Libbey. These gifts were rounded out by one from a woman in Indiana, Mrs. Lapsley.³

The results of these negotiations were communicated to Wishard, on September 14th, and on the 21st of September, 1877, a little more than nine months after his memorable interview with Mr. Dodge, Wishard was "publicly installed in the college secretaryship of the International Committee for the promotion of an Intercollegiate Movement, whose possibilities had so faintly dawned upon the group as they talked in the firelight on that brief December day."⁴

When he began his work Wishard realized in a new way the meaning of Princeton's leadership in the Intercollegiate Movement, for he found that but five of the eastern colleges—Williams, Hamilton, Cornell, Rochester, and Princeton—were definitely related to the Young Men's Christian Association. This

¹ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 76.

² Minutes of the International Committee, September 13, 1877.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

situation, "whatever the cause, proved to be a very real and unyielding obstacle to the progress of the Student Movement in the East and, had it not been for Princeton's leadership and that of the Intercollegiate Movement effected at Louisville, the difficulties would have been well-nigh insuperable. These difficulties were still further aggravated, or at least accentuated, by the existence of local religious societies in many eastern colleges. Many of these had existed for years and had acquired a traditional hold upon the student body or upon the teaching body, particularly the latter. . . . Some of them were seriously hampered in usefulness by their names: 'Praying Circle'; 'Christian Fraternity'; 'Society of Christian Brethren'; 'The Sodality'; 'Society of Inquiry'; etc. The very spirit of these names was outdated and the average rollicking, unsanctimonious, cant-hating college student was actually repelled."⁵ The fact that this new Intercollegiate Movement was the creation of the colleges themselves, and that a great university like Princeton had taken the initiative in bringing it about, helped at once to establish a sense of vital fellowship between religious societies of different names, even though many of these societies were not ready immediately to affiliate themselves with the Young Men's Christian Association.

One of Mr. Wishard's first tasks as college secretary was a survey of the college situation. On the basis of this survey he estimated that there were in the country about three hundred and fifty institutions containing sixty thousand students, eight thousand of whom were connected with various voluntary student religious organizations.⁶ Wishard quickly discovered that correspondence must be supplemented by visits to conferences and colleges if the Movement was to develop as it should in the colleges. During his first year he visited twenty-three colleges in the eastern states and Virginia and Minnesota, and met two hundred student delegates to five different State Young Men's Christian Association conventions. Speaking of the original and unique character of his visits to the colleges Wishard said: "Students had

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶ *The College Bulletin*, November, 1878, pp. 1-2.

been approached and appealed to by their fellows, their teachers, and ministers; but the appeal of a man who came because he was sent by his college, yes, by a combination of colleges—this was something new, this arrested attention, this compelled reflection, this startled the student body into discussion and resulted in action.”⁷

The minutes of the International Committee between April and September, 1878, make clear that the committee regarded the college work as experimental and was in doubt with regard to its ability to provide funds for its continuance. On April 6, 1878, it was reported that Wishard intended to give his summer as State Secretary for the Young Men's Christian Association of Minnesota, leaving New York early in May and going west via Virginia to attend the State Conference May 16th to 19th. It was stated that Wishard desired to join the middle class of Princeton Theological Seminary in the autumn, but that he “offers to continue the college work by correspondence, provided the Committee desires to make an arrangement with him similar to that of the current year.”⁸ On September 18, 1878, McBurney reported that he hoped the necessary funds would be raised on the same plan as the previous year. That the funds were secured is evidenced by the fact that Wishard carried out the plan that had been outlined and in the autumn of 1878 entered Princeton Seminary.

In his room in No. 1, Old Seminary Building, which now became the office of the Intercollegiate Movement, was prepared the manuscript for *The College Bulletin*, the first intercollegiate religious periodical ever published. It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of *The College Bulletin* in the extension of the work of the Associations in the colleges of the country. The first issue appeared in November, 1878, and during its first year *The Bulletin* was sent without cost to ten thousand students.

The most significant development during the first two years

⁷ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 82.

⁸ Minutes of the International Committee, Y.M.C.A., for meeting of April 6, 1878.

of the college secretaryship was the expansion of the program proposed by the Louisville College Conference to include the development of foreign missionary intelligence and conviction among college students. The foreign missionary responsibility of students had not entered at all into the student discussions at Louisville in spite of the fact that many of the delegates represented societies that had but recently been changed from Societies of Missionary Inquiry into Y.M.C.A's. There is in this fact perhaps a suggestion that the thinking on foreign missions both in the colleges and the churches had become conventional and static at this time.

During the winter following the Louisville Convention, in the class of Dr. Prentiss at Union Seminary, Wishard heard for the first time the story of the birth of the American Missionary Movement and the way in which Samuel Mills and the Williams College Society of Brethren had tried to create an intercollegiate missionary society. Believing the time was now ripe for the fulfillment of the desires of Mills, Wishard said: "Let the students in these closing years of the century consummate what our fellow students in the early part of the century attempted. Let us engraft a missionary department upon this Intercollegiate Movement. We are their lineal spiritual descendants and successors; what they had begun it is ours to complete. They had willed, but our wills must now be brought into the plan to consummate their daring purpose."⁹

Deeply moved by this conviction, Wishard lost no time in sharing it with the colleges. *The College Bulletin* (March, 1879) devoted half of its four-page issue to the missionary cause and a discussion of ways and means of promoting the missionary spirit in the colleges. These articles outlined a missionary program for the college Association, including the appointment of a Missionary Committee; the holding of regular missionary meetings; the definite directing of the study and discussion of missions toward the responsibility of the individual student either to go as a missionary or to support from the home base the missionary cause;

⁹ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 97.

the building of a missionary library with papers, magazines, and bibliography, and especially the development of a committee of missionary correspondence which would lead to an exchange of correspondence between Christian students in American colleges and students in foreign missionary colleges. Wishard concluded this article on the missionary program with the following appeal: "If the students of our country will conduct their missionary work with proper zeal, it won't be long until representatives from every college will be stationed all the way from 'Greenland's Icy Mountain to India's Coral Strand.' It won't be long until a thousand educated men who remain in this country will send their prayer and their means into all the world that the gospel may be preached to every creature."¹⁰

About this time Wishard, during a visit to Massachusetts Agricultural College, saw a letter which had been sent by students in Sapporo Agricultural College, Sapporo, Japan, who were banded together in a society called "Believers in Jesus." The Japanese student society coveted the friendship and prayers of students in American colleges and desired to correspond with them.¹¹ Through the influence of this society thirteen of their fellow students had been converted during that college year. Among these Japanese students had been growing a sense of fellowship with their fellow students in America, for though "separated from you by the waters of the broad Pacific, yet we are closely united with you by the chain of love because we know you are our brothers living under the care of the same heavenly Father. We have learned, also, that we are one body in Christ and every one members one of another, and so we wish to work together with you for our Lord to promote His glory. What a great encouragement to us, a little band of believers in Sapporo, to be assisted by the noble and enthusiastic Christians in America."¹²

This message first gave to Wishard that passion for extending the Student Movement into the colleges of mission lands which ten years later led him to make a three years' tour among the

¹⁰ *The College Bulletin*, March, 1879, p. 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

¹² *Ibid.*

students of Asia and Africa. Wishard was so moved by his growing missionary interest that he determined to make the subject of foreign missions the central question in the second Intercollegiate Conference, to be held in conjunction with the Baltimore International Convention in May, 1879. Writing to President Mark Hopkins at Williams, he asked that a Williams student be sent to Baltimore to tell the story of the Mills group. President Hopkins responded by sending H. P. Perkins, whose ringing appeal resulted in the establishment of the missionary department, thus guaranteeing in this new Intercollegiate Christian Movement the continuance and growth of the missionary interests of the older societies of missionary inquiry and preparing the way for the later organization of the Student Volunteer Movement.

The Baltimore Conference reflected the growth of the Movement during the two years following the Louisville meeting. Thirty-four colleges from sixteen states, the District of Columbia, and Canada were represented by forty-seven student delegates. Several of the Associations in Negro colleges were included among the colleges represented at Baltimore. With the appointment in this year of Henry Edwards Brown as secretary of work among colored young men began an expansion of work in Negro colleges and academies. Mr. Wishard's report of the first two years of intercollegiate work showed that correspondence had been maintained with over one hundred colleges and that fifty-two students, representing twenty-one colleges, had been in attendance at eight state Young Men's Christian Association conventions. He also reported that his visitation during these two years had been limited because of his part-time relationship. Wishard was now "thoroughly convinced that visitation is the best way to develop the work" and he looked anxiously forward to the "time when some young man can enter upon an extended tour among our colleges with the sole purpose of stimulating students in vigorous and systematic Christian effort."¹³

The force of circumstances was now clearly leading Wishard to the place where he had to make a decision as to whether his

¹³ Pp. xvii-xix of Report of the Executive Committee of the Y.M.C.A. to the Baltimore Convention, May 21-25, 1879.

life work was to be in this college field or in foreign missionary service. Wishard's pioneering leadership in the colleges had brought about so many student religious awakenings that his success put upon him an obligation to give himself wholly to this work unless there were strong reasons for going immediately to the foreign field. Greatly troubled as to the nature of God's real call to him, he sought counsel with many friends and especially with Mr. Cephas Brainerd, chairman of the International Committee. With Wishard fresh from the Baltimore Convention, Brainerd pictured to him the possibility of a great college missionary awakening in America, because of the action taken by the college conference at Baltimore. Consulting his lifelong friend, Dr. William H. Taylor of the Broadway Tabernacle, Wishard was told: "I sympathize with your desire to go to the foreign missionary field and I would ordinarily be the last man to detain you. You seem, however, to be providentially detained. You are doing a great work which you may not be able to delegate. I have long been guided by a principle which has served me at some important crises of my life, namely, never to move forward until the door in front of me is open and the door behind me is closed. A door great and effectual is clearly opened to you. Is the door behind you closed?"¹⁴

To help in making the right decision Wishard asked for a conference with President McCosh, Doctors Murray and Duffield, and others, including Mr. Morse—the consensus of the conferences being that he should "accept the colleges" as his ministry.¹⁵ Again he sought further conference with Mr. Brainerd, but did not come to a clear conviction until the following noon, when he went to the Fulton Street prayer meeting in New York City. There, in accordance with the practice, he sent forward a written request for divine guidance on his problem. Wishard's request was read and prayer was offered by the group, "followed by the singing of Ray Palmer's immortal hymn, 'My Faith Looks Up to Thee.' As they sang the lines 'O, may I from this day be

¹⁴ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 86.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

wholly Thine,'” Wishard said, “I walked out of the room assured that I was destined for a period of years to remain in America for the sake of foreign missions and so my heart was fixed and my path was clear at last and from then until the fullness of time had come I never wavered.”¹⁶

From that time forward the extensive and intensive growth of the Intercollegiate Movement under Wishard's leadership was rapid. The first evidence of organization in the western colleges came in a request in 1879 from the University of California for facts with regard to the Movement. By 1880, three years after Louisville, the Movement had increased to ninety-six Associations with nearly five thousand members and the first student Associations in Canada had been organized in Toronto and Queens and the first Canadian Student Conference held at Kingston, Ontario, October 23, 1879. At this conference, the 12th Annual Convention of the Y.M.C.A.'s. of Ontario and Quebec, a great deal of time was devoted to college work. Addresses by Mr. Wishard, President Grant of Queens College, and professors and students representing Victoria, Knox, and Albert Colleges were followed by urgent requests for Wishard's help in organizing the work in Canadian colleges. Mr. McDonald of University College reported Associations for purposes of prayer and religious work among the medical students of Trinity and University Colleges.¹⁷ Vanderbilt Theological Seminary reported in April, 1878, the first theological school Association and in the same year the University of Pennsylvania Medical School reported an Association.

A significant addition to the Movement was achieved when in 1881 the Yale Christian Union became the Yale Young Men's Christian Association. As early as Moody's campaign, in 1878, students at Yale began feeling the need “of some coördinating agency which would express the Christian spirit of all the classes and which would furnish opportunity for united aggressive action.”¹⁸ Yale was represented at the College Conference at Baltimore, 1879, by a senior, William B. Boomer. This led to the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁷ *The Watchman*, Nov. 15, 1879, p. 263.

¹⁸ Richard C. Morse, *My Life with Young Men*, pp. 331-32.

organization, in 1879, of the Yale Christian Social Union. Representation at the next conference, in Cleveland, 1881, led to a decision to change their society into a Student Young Men's Christian Association and affiliate with the Intercollegiate Movement. The leadership of the International Committee's General Secretary, Richard C. Morse, always a loyal Yale Alumnus, was a potent factor in bringing this about.

By the end of the first decade of intercollegiate work, 258 organized Associations had a membership of 12,000, and during the entire period there had been an average of twenty-six new Associations each year. Under Wishard's leadership during this decade the Movement had had tenfold development in nearly all directions. College Associations were found at the end of this period in every state except West Virginia, Florida, Arkansas, Nevada, and in five of the provinces of Canada.¹⁹

One of the earliest of the Canadian Associations was that of the University of Toronto, organized in March, 1873, its object being "the promotion of the spiritual interest of the students of this College." In an address on the history of the Toronto Association, at the dedication, on March 2, 1886, of Strathcona Hall, the Association building at Toronto University, Mr. Alexander McLeod said:

"From its organizations to the present day it has made steady progress in numbers and in influence. It has now become one of the college institutions. Looked upon askance in its early history even by the council, opposed or despised by many undergraduates, it has now attained a position which commands respect from all. During these thirteen years the Association has been quietly exerting its influence upon college life. Its work is to be done among undergraduates, while the sentiments of its members are world-wide and extend to every kind of Christian effort, yet they feel it their special duty to help one another live truer, healthier lives and by word and act to preach Christ. The work is important—none more so."²⁰

¹⁹ *The Intercollegian*, Vol. X, September, 1887, pp. 4-5.

²⁰ *The College Bulletin*, March, 1886, pp. 22-24.

An interesting early development in the Canadian work was the formation in 1885 of a Canadian Intercollegiate Missionary Alliance. The object of this Alliance was "to encourage among students in general and theological students in particular an active interest in and so far as possible consecration to mission work, both home and foreign."²¹ This Alliance worked very much as did the Interseminary Missionary Alliance, excepting that it included colleges as well as the theological seminaries in Canada. The later development and growth of the Student Volunteer Movement led to the merging of the Canadian Intercollegiate Missionary Alliance with that movement.

These figures with regard to extensive growth are, however, not nearly so significant as the pioneering in the realm of program and new forms of intercollegiate fellowship and activity that developed during this decade. The Intercollegiate Movement represented the idea of a comprehensive all-round approach to the moral and religious needs of the students and the implications of following Jesus in social and international realms. This, as the Virginia program illustrated, was "something new under the sun."

One of the problems faced by Wishard in his pioneering was to change from old conceptions of student religious societies to this new conception. The proposals of the Louisville College Conference included:

1. Diligent study of the Word of God
2. Prayer
3. Personal Work
4. Efficient Organization.

They recommended:

1. Systematic inter-Association correspondence
2. Inter-Association visitation, especially at times of revivals
3. Appointment of a College Secretary
4. Subscribing to *The Watchman*.²²

²¹ Report of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Canadian Intercollegiate Missionary Alliance, held at Coburg, Ontario, November 8-11, 1888, Montreal, 1889.

²² *The College Bulletin*, December, 1878, pp. 1 and 2.

These proposals practically resolved themselves into suggestions that Associations promote:

Religious meetings,
Bible Study,
Personal Evangelism,
Inter-Association visitation and correspondence, and
Use of literature.

The Baltimore Convention added the missionary department. The program of the student Associations was a matter of experimentation and growth during this eleven-year period of Wishard's leadership. New phases of work, generally pioneered first by some local Association, were taken up one by one and promoted as parts of the program of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement. Among these were included the adoption of a uniform constitution; the development of a rapidly-expanding group of "neighborhood" or community service activities; the autumn campaign of new student work; the use of the college vacation ticket; the presentation of Christian life callings; the production of literature, especially the magazine and the first student Bible courses; special leadership for college evangelistic campaigns; extension in theological, medical, and other professional schools, and the great growth of intercollegiate and international fellowship. Moreover, the influences coming out of this intercollegiate fellowship gradually changed the character of all these activities. The religious meetings, instead of being doctrinal or missionary debates, changed into practical devotional meetings in which men exchanged the depths of their religious experience and sought for the personal applications of Jesus' teachings to their lives and to campus activity.

The Day of Prayer for colleges became in an increasing way the center for student-led enterprises of evangelism. With the beginning of the Intercollegiate Department, the second Sunday in November and the last Thursday in January were set aside as Days of Prayer, the last Thursday of January being regarded as the official Day of Prayer for colleges.

The power of the Day of Prayer as a source and center for

spiritual awakening cannot be overestimated. Every great forward step in the life of the Movement has been born in prayer. The Day of Prayer for colleges is one of the oldest of intercollegiate religious practices in the American colleges. Its origin dates back at least to the concerts of prayer established by the student societies in the second decade of the nineteenth century. The revivals of religion associated with the observance of the concerts of prayer were so encouraging that a number of churches, with the knowledge and approval of the American Education Society, issued circulars asking that the last Thursday of February, 1823, be set aside by Christian people "as a season of fasting and special prayer that God will pour out his spirit on the colleges of our country the present year, more powerfully than ever before."²³

With the formation of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement, the Day of Prayer came to be associated in a special way with the work of this wide-spreading student Christian movement. The college secretary annually issued an appeal for its observance—an appeal which was sent to the churches and the colleges across the country. A pamphlet in 1882 says: "On this day many colleges suspend recitations and the time is devoted to meetings for prayer in the chapel, Association room and students' rooms; earnest Gospel addresses by men invited from abroad or members of the faculty, and personal work by the students among the unconverted to induce them to accept Christ. This day is often the beginning of a revival in the college. . . . It is impossible to estimate the influence of this great national prayer meeting."²⁴

The Intercollegiate Movement, because of its origin, was also from the first strongly characterized by evangelistic objectives and methods. This meant that it tended to test its activities by the contribution they made to leading students into a deeper understanding of Jesus' conception of God and a more empowering personal religious experience. The Louisville organizers had said

²³ W. D. Tyler, *Prayer for Colleges*, pp. 149, 150.

²⁴ Luther D. Wishard, *The Day of Prayer for Colleges* (pamphlet, 1882), pp. 3-4.

"the work will pay if it results in the salvation of but one student." The work of Moody, of J. E. K. Studd, of Professor Drummond, of Wishard, of S. M. Sayford, and many others, who, because of the Intercollegiate Movement, were made available in college evangelistic campaigns, resulted in leading literally thousands of students, in the first decade of Student Movement history, into vital religious experience. Another significant and creative early contribution of the Movement to the religious life of the colleges was the preparation of Bible study courses designed for the use of students. These special courses, together with the emphasis on small intimate groups with large opportunity for discussion, helped to give Bible study a central place in the life of the Movement.

When at Northfield in 1885 Messrs. Ober, Morse, and Brown prepared the first Bible training-class outlines, they little realized that they were opening the way for a specialized Bible-study approach to college students. The courses completed in 1885 were so successful that thirteen thousand copies were sold within two years. The numbers of students in Bible study rapidly increased. The later work of Professor Harper of Yale, with his *Inductive Plan for Bible Study*, was another forward step in this direction.

To tie Associations more closely together, much was done in the way of inter-visitation and correspondence. During 1883 the Dartmouth Association alone carried on correspondence with thirty other college societies. A college vacation ticket was issued in 1882 which, when in the possession of a member of a college Association, entitled him to the privileges of any Y.M.C.A. in the country during vacation period. This helped relate the student Associations more closely to the general Movement.

The Bulletin which, during the first five years of its life was distributed free, was sent out in 1882 on a subscription basis, at the rate of twenty cents monthly in lots of twenty-five. Several small pamphlets about the Intercollegiate Movement were prepared by Wishard. These were the beginnings of student Association manuals on methods of work and the series of technical methods pamphlets that in later years became so useful.

Neighborhood activities grew in popularity. Meetings were conducted in almshouses, in tramps' lodging houses, country Sunday schools, in hospitals, and in jails. Clubs for street boys who could not be influenced by ordinary agencies and many other enterprises entered into the realm of programs of social service.

Some idea of the progress of the work during the first seven years of pioneering can be gained from the following summary written in 1885: ²⁵

"The College Secretary receives annual reports from every College Association, the summary of which affords a fairly correct idea of the progress and condition of the work. The following summary is gleaned from the last report, and indicates the condition of the work in May, 1884:

"1. There are 181 College Associations, over 150 of which have been organized since the work was inaugurated in June, 1877.

"2. The total membership of the Associations approximates 10,000.

"3. All of the Associations conduct devotional and business meetings, the majority maintain missionary meetings and meetings for Bible study, and a large number report work done in the college neighborhood.

"4. Forty-three have rooms furnished and devoted exclusively to their purpose. Princeton College Association has a building valued at \$20,000. The Association of Hanover College, Indiana, has one erected at a cost of \$1,000. The Association in Michigan University has paid \$2,500 for a lot, upon which it is proposed to erect a building at an expense of \$15,000.

"5. One hundred and seven Associations observed the Day of Prayer for colleges the last Thursday of January, and 102 the Day of Prayer for young men, the second Sunday in November.

"6. There are about 37,000 students in these colleges, not over 13,000 of whom are professing Christians.

"7. Over 1,700 students professed conversion last college year, and over 7,000 have professed conversion during the past seven years. Careful inquiry shows that it may be fairly said of a large

²⁵ Luther D. Wishard, *The Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement*, pp. 39-44.

percentage of these conversions, that they were a result of College Association work.

"8. Two thousand, one hundred and nineteen students in these colleges are reported as candidates for the ministry, eighty-three of whom have been converted since entering college, twenty-five of whom were converted last year. Eighty-one of these are reported as having been influenced in their decision for the ministry by the College Association.

"9. One hundred and eighty-two are reported as intending to be foreign missionaries. Seven of these have been converted since entering college. Twenty-six are reported as having been influenced in their decision for the foreign field by the work of the College Association."

Toward the end of the first decade of the organized intercollegiate leadership of the work among students there arose two developments which have since been of profound significance. The first was the lead taken by larger university Associations in raising funds for buildings to be used as the center for the work of the Christian Association on the campus. Again Princeton led the way. The will of Hamilton Murray of New York City bequeathed the sum of \$20,000 to his "Alma Mater, the College of New Jersey, to be expended in the erection of a building for the use of the Philadelphian Society and for the promotion of the religious interests of the college." This building was dedicated Sunday, June 15, 1879.²⁶ Hanover College, Wishard's other *Alma Mater*, soon followed the example of Princeton in securing a building; Yale and Toronto followed in 1886.²⁷

So rapid had been the growth of the Y.M.C.A. program in the larger colleges that the need was soon felt for leadership that could devote much more time to the work than it was usually possible for the undergraduate officers to do. Presumably this would be the work of a paid officer like the chaplain, but he would be free from any official connections or responsibilities. The erection of the Y.M.C.A. buildings brought this issue to a head and led to the employment of the first general secretaries

²⁶ *The Intercollegian*, March, 1887 (Vol. IX, No. 2), p. 9.

²⁷ *The Intercollegian: Yale*, January, 1887, p. 2; *Toronto*, May, 1887, p. 20.

for college Y.M.C.A.'s. The completion of Dwight Hall in the early months of 1886, led the graduate committee of the Yale University Association "after consultation with the officers and members of the Association to appoint a qualified member of the graduate class to act as General Secretary of the Association for the next college year." Chauncey Goodrich, of the class of '86, "yielded to the wishes of his fellow students and accepted the secretaryship."

Mr. Wishard's report of 1887 says:

"In 1886, for the first time in the history of this work, local general secretaries were secured by two of our college Associations, those in Yale and Toronto Universities. For a number of years it has been the custom in some colleges for baseball clubs, football teams and boat crews to retain for a year or two graduates who have attained preëminence in these different sports, to train men and prepare them for the intercollegiate contests. The Associations in Yale and Toronto Universities have simply applied the same principle to the Christian work of their colleges, and have retained men who were leaders in the Association to oversee the work—not to do it, but plan it and set committees of students at work in the different departments of the Association. The plan has worked so well in these institutions that it will be continued and other colleges will doubtless adopt it." ²⁸

Prior to this development the Student Department of the International Committee had become convinced that the work in the colleges, expanding as it was, could not properly be led by one national college secretary. The students attending the college conference held in conjunction with the Milwaukee International Convention, in 1883, requested that the International Committee appoint an additional national college secretary, the time of these two secretaries to be so distributed that the full equivalent of one man's time could be devoted to special religious work.²⁹ The man appointed to this position was C. K. Ober, of the class of 1883, Williams College, who as an undergraduate had participated actively in the work of the Williams College

²⁸ *Year Book of the Young Men's Christian Associations for 1887*, p. xi.

²⁹ *The College Bulletin*, January, 1885, p. 9.

Association and in the wider work of the Massachusetts State Young Men's Christian Association. His paper on the advantages of the relation of college Associations to the general Young Men's Christian Association Movement, given at the State Young Men's Christian Association Convention at Lynn in 1882, had so impressed the leaders of the Young Men's Christian Association that the Massachusetts State Committee asked him to serve as Assistant State Secretary, which position he held for a period of a little more than a year, beginning this work even before his graduation. He had also served as assistant secretary in the New York City Association for six months and then as State General Secretary for Massachusetts for an additional year.³⁰ This was the beginning of the development of a national college staff. Later events clearly vindicated the good judgment of the committee in selecting Ober for this important position.

"This intercollegiate movement," said Wishard in 1886, "seems assured of success. Its purpose and methods have been approved by nearly every prominent college president in America, by professors in the leading theological seminaries, and by leading ministers of the various denominations; while at least twenty-five thousand students have expressed their approval by uniting with it and giving it the support of their college lives. . . . This Christian Movement among students is too mighty in its power for good to be limited to any country or continent. It will not have fulfilled its mission until every living student shall, through its agency, have been invited to Christ."³¹

³⁰ Richard C. Morse, *My Life with Young Men*, pp. 171-72.

³¹ *The College Bulletin*, March, 1886, p. 22.

CHAPTER XI

EXPANDING INTERCOLLEGIATE FELLOWSHIP

THE constantly-widening range of expression for the "intercollegiateness" inherent in the idea of the Christian student society has had a profound effect on the relationship of the Student Christian Movement to the colleges and to the general Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. We are familiar with the power of this intercollegiate urge in the early societies and the ways in which some of them achieved a sense of solidarity with other societies through correspondence and "concerts of prayer." Strong intercollegiate ties between local Associations are indispensable if the Movement is to make its most significant contribution to the religious life of students, organized Associations, and the religious thinking of the nation. This is infinitely more difficult to realize in a country the size of the United States than in a small, homogeneous country like England or Holland. It is, moreover, greatly complicated when there are hundreds of colleges instead of scores as in the first half of the nineteenth century. With the growing complexity of American college life, this necessity for banding together in a vital, intercollegiate movement these scattered religious societies would have been met sooner or later by some group of students if the Louisville College Conference had adjourned in 1877 without doing it. Such a uniting of forces was inevitable because, when groups are really possessed by the religion of Jesus, the nature of this experience forces them to seek the widest possible fellowship with other like-minded groups and also because in the university world there can be no institutional or geographical boundaries for ideas and experiences.

In a very dramatic way barriers in all phases of collegiate life were breaking down in the latter part of the seventies and the

decade of the eighties—the period in which the Intercollegiate Movement was finding itself. Fraternities were spreading; professional associations being formed or enlarged; intercollegiate athletics, dramatics, and literary activities being created; and, most of all, revolutionary changes were taking place in education itself—among which none were more striking in their effect on youth than the introduction by Harvard of the elective system and the abolition of compulsory chapel. These were stirring times, and the rapid spread of the local and intercollegiate life of the Movement must be seen against this background. The facts of the nature and setting of these Christian societies and of the *Zeitgeist* gave a certain inevitability to the trend of intercollegiate developments that was quite as important a factor as Wishard's own personal leadership of the Movement. The facts inherent in this situation dictated his policies much more than he could have realized. His good leadership is evidenced by his responsiveness to these facts.

This "intercollegiateness" is nowadays (1934) one of the causes of misunderstanding on the part of certain educators, who regard the Movement as "outside the college," and hence tending to take over some of the control of college religious life which naturally should be in the hands of its resident forces. The question one must face here is whether, if some kind of voluntary Christian student society is a good thing, it can be had without its sooner or later feeling cramped and provincial unless it is tied onto a wider "intercollegiateness." It should also be noted that only as this "intercollegiateness" is encouraged to function through the best possible national and world organizational channels can the Student Christian Movement bring to bear on contemporary ethical, social, and theological problems the opinions and convictions of the most creative groups of Christian students and professors in our colleges.

It is not generally understood, however, that this same "intercollegiateness," against which sometimes a college administration protests, is also the root source of most of the difficulties experienced by the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in their relationships with the general movements of which they are a part.

There have always been within the general Y.M.C.A. critics of, what they regarded as, the separateness, the isolation, of the Student Young Men's Christian Associations from the rest of the Y.M.C.A. Movement. Separate or different ways of doing things have been gravely misunderstood because a different sociology was controlling the development of the work in the colleges from that governing city Associations. At certain times crises have developed when it seemed to many as though the Student Movement and the general Young Men's Christian Association must completely separate. The most notable of these have been around requests of Student Associations for bases of membership differing from the evangelical church basis of the rest of the brotherhood—in 1905 and 1920-22—and especially the struggle in 1925 for freedom from a dual system of supervision and the recognition of the Student Council system as the authoritative policy-making body for the work of Student Young Men's Christian Associations in the United States. The action of the National Y.M.C.A. (1927) in granting practically the autonomy of a movement within a movement was simply statesmanlike recognition that the very element of "intercollegiateness" which seemed to inhere in this Christian movement in the colleges also forced a large degree of separateness and isolation in its relations to the general Young Men's Christian Association.

The students at Louisville in 1877 felt that the success of the Christian Association work in the individual colleges was in direct ratio to the opportunities that were given to students in these societies for intercollegiate fellowship and coöperation. Some opportunities for such fellowship were found in the biennial International Conventions and in the State Young Men's Christian Association Conventions. The major means, however, for developing this intercollegiate fellowship and for the training of student leaders for efficient campus Christian Association leadership was found in quite different types of separate student conferences that developed under Wishard's leadership. These conferences became the propagating centers for the ideals of the Movement. They were also a means through which the college

secretary could more quickly and effectively share the results of his own work in the colleges.

Prior to Louisville and during the first few years following it, the general state conventions offered practically the only opportunity for this intercollegiate fellowship. These conventions were largely inspirational, giving to students an opportunity to hear great evangelists, and to become acquainted with the influential laymen and secretaries who were leaders of the Associations in their state. They were usually meetings of great spiritual power. During the first five years of his college secretaryship Wishard vigorously promoted student attendance at these conventions and personally attended most of them. He enthusiastically supported them because of his convictions regarding the value of these wider Association contacts and because they did give, through brief separate meetings of the college delegates, some chance to share experiences and to make plans for extending the influence of the Student Movement throughout the colleges of the state.

Out from these conventions went deputations of students to organize new Associations and to strengthen weaker college societies. Wishard, as an undergraduate, had been won to belief in the Young Men's Christian Association through similar experiences in the Indiana State Convention of 1873 and the deputations that resulted from this. That these state conventions played a large part in extending the work in the colleges during the first five years of Wishard's leadership there can be no doubt. In the first year, 1877-78, announcements of gatherings of students at state conventions in New York (three colleges), Pennsylvania (six colleges), and Maryland were made.¹

The plan followed in all these state conventions is summarized in the following report of the New York conference. "In addition to engaging actively in the general exercises of the Convention, the students held one or two private sessions with the college secretary, reporting the condition of their several Associations and discussing plans for advancing the work. A college

¹ *The College Bulletin*, November, 1878, pp. 3-4.

meeting was held in conjunction with the convention and the delegates received with the heartiest enthusiasm the account of the college work.”²

Summarizing these conferences during his first year, Wishard reported that he attended five state Young Men’s Christian Association conventions in Indiana, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Virginia. “In these conventions two hundred students were met and conversed with, and they were impressed with the importance of having wide-awake Christian organizations in their colleges.”³ At the end of his second year of work Mr. Wishard reports that over two hundred students, representing fifty colleges in twenty different states, attended seventeen different state conventions, “and carried from these conventions to their colleges such influences as have resulted in revivals of religion.”⁴ At the beginning of the fourth year (1880-81) successful student conferences in conjunction with the state conventions in Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee are reported.⁵

On Wednesday, October 20, 1880, twelve students representing Bowdoin, Bates, Colby, Williams, Amherst, Williston Seminary, Brown, Yale, and Wesleyan were present at a “New England College Conference” held in connection with the Massachusetts State Convention in Lynn, Massachusetts. It was this conference that first drew up a plan for a student conference separate from the state general Y.M.C.A. conventions. They also spent much time “in discussing methods of work and in presenting to the delegates the principles and objects of the Intercollegiate Association” and “influences were inaugurated that will lead to the connection of several New England colleges with the Organization.”⁶ That the idea of a conference separate from the state convention was not immediately put into effect is evidenced by the fact that no report of a special college meeting is made in 1881 and that the next conference was held with the Massachusetts

² *The College Bulletin*, November, 1878, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, January, 1879, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, October, 1879, p. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, October, 1880, p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, November, 1880, p. 4.

State Convention at Charlestown, October 12-15, 1882. To this conference came thirty-one students representing eleven New England colleges, and two corresponding delegates from Princeton. This, however, was nearer to the separate conference idea: a whole day was given over for the college conference. This was the largest conference of New England students that had been held up to that time. "A quartette from the Yale Glee Club furnished music."⁷

While they were in session, a student conference was meeting in connection with the Tennessee State Convention to which they sent the following greetings: "The college boys of New England send Christian greetings to the college boys of Tennessee. Let us not be weary in well-doing for in due season we shall reap if we faint not."⁸ In commenting on these two meetings, Mr. Wishard said: "These fraternal interchanges between the college boys of the North and those of the South are fraught with far-reaching significance. What power can ever break such bonds as this Christian movement is forming?"

In addition to the meetings of students at state conventions, the only other opportunity for intercollegiate fellowship was in connection with the International Convention. Between the time of the Louisville Conference (1877) and the organization of the first Summer Student Conference at Mt. Hermon in 1886, the biennial national college conferences held in connection with the international conventions afforded the only opportunity for national student Christian fellowship. Wishard and the Intercollegiate Committee carefully planned for these National College Conferences, but even with the best of planning this arrangement was quite unsatisfactory. It involved great expense on the part of student delegates, at the same time giving them but little opportunity for intercollegiate fellowship. The time allotted for separate student meetings had to be adjusted to the demands of all the Associations represented in the convention. The college conference really resolved itself into one or two sessions of two

⁷ *The College Bulletin*, November, 1880, p. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*

or three hours for the college delegates, the balance of the time being spent in the larger meetings of the convention.

At the Cleveland International Convention, in 1881, Wishard made an effort to have the convention devote an entire day to the work in the colleges. Wishard was especially eager to have "one of the foremost advocates of foreign missions" invited to address the delegates at the convention, "but my proposal was turned down because of the feeling that such an arrangement might create criticism by giving undue and disproportionate emphasis to the college work."⁹

This difficulty of getting an adequate opportunity for real national intercollegiate discussion and fellowship together with the time of year (generally near the close of the college year) at which the international conventions were held, accounted for the small attendance of students. Although the Cleveland Convention (1881) (with eighty-three delegates from forty-one colleges) was three times the size of the Louisville Conference, yet it was wholly inadequate as a national meeting representing the rapidly-growing Student Movement. The problem of these college conferences, held as side-shows to the state and international conventions as seen by students, was clearly stated a few years later by DeW. C. Huntington, president of the Yale University Young Men's Christian Association, in an attempt to give the reasons of New England college students for starting a separate conference. Their first separate conference, he said, "was the product of much thought and desire on the part of a number of college men most interested who had been thinking a long time of the great advantage that would come from some meeting of college men to talk over their common interest in the work of the Master. They had frequently met in concert with the other Young Men's Christian Associations but there is such a wide difference between the interest of college men and the interest of young men at large, that they felt in a great measure shut out from a close participation in the discussions and interests of those meetings and looked forward to some opportunity for conference upon topics

⁹ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 99.

pertaining to the peculiar circumstances of college men. That first meeting, I am informed, was the outgrowth of a recognized want. It was something that they felt was a necessity in order that they might develop symmetrical Christian character in symmetrical Christian organization, doing the work which was evidently for them and them alone to do. Different colleges have their own ways of carrying on work; all are doing good work; all are leaving a large field untouched. The motive that brought us together is that we might develop where we failed to develop; that we might find new ways to do good that have been in our reach for years, and that we have not used.”¹⁰

That Wishard in his action (beginning in 1882) in advocating separate conferences was as much controlled by thinking of this sort on the part of the students as by his convictions is abundantly evident. In his memoirs, written many years later, he says: “As the Student Movement developed and expanded we who were directing it clearly recognized the necessity of more time for the consideration of its problems than it was possible for the general Association Conventions, either state or international, to afford. Our first solution of this difficulty was the state college conference: accordingly, beginning with one at Indianapolis in May, 1882, we multiplied these conferences rapidly until most of the states where the college movement was widely organized maintained them annually.”¹¹

The idea of separate student conferences was quite possibly first discussed in the meeting of New England colleges held at Lynn, Massachusetts, October 20, 1880, yet it is quite clear that the first student conferences wholly separate from other conferences of the general Y.M.C.A. were held in Iowa and Wisconsin on the week-end of January 12-14, 1883. The Indianapolis conference in May, 1882, referred to by Wishard, was held in conjunction with the State Y.M.C.A. Convention. The Iowa Conference was held at Parsons College, January 12-14, 1883, and

¹⁰ Printed report of the Fifth Annual New England College Conference, 1887, published by Yale University Young Men's Christian Association, pp. 10-11.

¹¹ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 103-104.

brought together thirty-five delegates from ten colleges and several neighboring city Associations. That it was student-initiated and led, although with a few city Association guests, is made clear by its sponsorship and its program. Among the topics discussed were: "Duties and Qualifications of the President"; "Relation of Town and College Young Men's Christian Associations"; "Bible Training Classes"; "Devotional Meetings; How to Arouse and Sustain an Interest in Missions"; "Personal Work, Its Power and Methods." A strong reason for these separate college conferences is suggested in the report, which says that "a work was begun which has already resulted in *a rich blessing to the college where the conference was held.*"¹²

On the same week-end a small group of students from the colleges of Wisconsin met at Milton College, Wisconsin, for "two days in prayer and conversation concerning the cause of Christ in their colleges."¹³ Mr. Wishard, reporting "this first conference" of Wisconsin students, said: "We do not attempt to gather up the results. Only the light of eternity will reveal the effects of the influences which were set in motion by this small band of Christian students." The program was much like that followed in the previous meetings of students held in conjunction with the state conventions, excepting that much more time was available for fellowship, prayer, and discussion. This item from the report of this meeting of Wisconsin students will be of interest in view of later developments in educational procedure: "Very little speech-making was indulged in during these discussions. Questions and answers were the order of the day."¹⁴ The meeting of this conference at Milton College was the starting point for a great spiritual awakening among the students of that college. On the closing day of the conference between forty and fifty Milton College students "professed faith in Christ, and their example has since been followed by as many more."¹⁵

One month later the idea discussed at Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1880 bore fruit in the first separate New England college conference. Nineteen students from Brown, Amherst, Williams, Har-

¹² *The College Bulletin*, February, 1883, pp. 2-3.

¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

vard, Phillips Andover, Williston, Dartmouth, Bowdoin, Bates, Colby, and Princeton spent the week-end of February 18-19, 1883, in conference at Yale. This conference in New England marked the beginning of a long series of New England college conferences. It was also an early dramatization of that solidarity of New England student Christian work that at different crises in Student Movement history has played an important part in developments.

The conference devoted its entire time to the consideration of the methods of work peculiar to the college Young Men's Christian Association. Morse and Wishard of the International Committee and Sayford and Ober, state secretaries from Massachusetts, were present as conference leaders. "A special series of daily meetings" were held under the leadership of S. M. Sayford, who at that time was just beginning a career of fruitful college evangelistic work. Speaking of the effect of this conference on the Yale Christian Association, the report says: "A great deal of earnest individual work has been done in Yale since the conference and a number of entry prayer meetings have been held. Many indifferent Christians have been aroused and a number of men have decided for Christ. Indeed, the spiritual life of Yale has not been so vigorous for twenty-five years, since the revival of 1858."¹⁶ Commenting on the significance of this conference Mr. Wishard said:

"In the first place it is worthy of note that nearly every one of our oldest colleges recognizes the value of such fellowship and material stimulus as this intercollegiate combination affords. These colleges did effective Christian work long before the Young Men's Christian Association was conceived, but they have discovered that the step from an exclusive basis upon which they formerly stood¹⁷ and did *good* work to an intercollegiate basis upon which they can materially aid each other enables them

¹⁶ *The College Bulletin*, March, 1883, p. 1.

¹⁷ Wishard's sentiment was better than his history. It is a striking fact that out of these colleges (with which Princeton has also been traditionally associated), in spite of their reputation for aloofness, have come some of the greatest movements for national and world-wide Christian student solidarity that appear in the history of the Student Christian Movement.

to do *far better* work. They find that instead of sacrificing their individuality they have been enabled to so modify and improve their methods as to give them a far more vigorous, positive, aggressive character. Again these important college centers in New England recognized the fact that they can and must coöperate with the most effective agency the Church has ever raised up for saving young men (The Young Men's Christian Association) shaking off the exclusiveness with which they have been too justly judged, they send words of hearty greeting to the young men from whom they are, for the while, separated by college walls, and assure them of their readiness to coöperate with them in the most important activity of life, namely, Christian work."¹⁸

This idea of separate college conferences spread rapidly. The students of eastern Pennsylvania gathered at Lafayette College on January 30-February 1, 1884. The students of New York state gathered early in the same year at Syracuse and there had the privilege of the leadership of both Wishard and Dwight L. Moody. The second New England college conference met at Amherst, February 1-3, 1884, with thirty delegates present from ten New England colleges. The report says "the sessions were well attended by Amherst students and their influence is apparent in a revival of religion in which a number of men have accepted Christ."¹⁹ Forty college students attended the first New Jersey College Conference held at Rutgers, January 26-27, 1884, and were led by the college secretary and Richard C. Morse, and by Cleveland H. Dodge and Henry H. Webster, lay members of the International Committee and Princeton classmates of Wishard.²⁰

These separate college conferences not only spread from state to state, but also grew rapidly in size and influence. The third New England college conference is typical of what happened in most of the state and interstate college conferences across the country. This conference met as guests of the Society of Christian Brethren at Harvard University, February 20-22, 1885, and brought together one hundred and twenty students from twelve

¹⁸ *The College Bulletin*, March, 1883, p. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, February, 1884, pp. 2-3

²⁰ *Ibid.*

New England colleges and schools. It was "the largest number of students ever assembled at an Association conference composed exclusively of students. Perhaps the *significance of this growing interest in the separate college conferences is best illustrated when one recalls that this is a much larger group than attended any of the early national college conferences held in conjunction with the international conventions.*"²¹

The sessions of the conference were given over to addresses by such great church leaders as Phillips Brooks, A. J. Gordon, and with "interesting discussions on college Christian fellowship, the development of missionary spirit, individual work, the college prayer meeting, and the maintenance of intercollegiate relations." One of the features of this conference was an address by William E. Dodge, who "presented to the prospective business and professional men before him an idea of the wide and varied field of Christian usefulness open to the college graduate. The effect of his address can best be described in the words of a Harvard law student who said at the close of the conference, 'Well, Mr. Dodge's address has made me an Association worker for life.'"²²

The conference was marked by deep spiritual power, many of the conference leaders testifying that "never in their experience had a company of college students been favored with so blessed a season of communication and fellowship with God." One of the topics of discussion which aroused most interest was that of group Bible study. The Amherst Association reported that they had organized twenty groups of students with about five in each group, who were meeting once a week "with a view of ascertaining the answers to the various objections offered for not accepting Christ." A Boston newspaper reporter wrote of this meeting "if those men carry out their promises, there will be a sweeping revival in the New England colleges very soon."²³

Many factors contributed to the success of the idea of the separate conference. The most important of these was that the unhurried character of the conference program gave a chance

²¹ *The College Bulletin*, March, 1885, p. 1.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

for a large amount of real intercollegiate student Christian fellowship. This meant that both through the meetings and personal conferences the students could quite largely share the results of their own Christian efforts with students from other colleges. It also gave the chance for forming friendships that would be valuable in other intercollegiate relationships and in later life. By the autumn of 1885 the separate college conference was a fixed feature of Student Young Men's Christian Association work and efforts to get student attendance at general, state, and international Y.M.C.A. conventions was quite secondary to this.

The College Bulletin of November, 1885, gave a page and a half to suggestions on "how to carry forward a state college conference." It was suggested that the conference should be held at a college "whose Association earnestly desires it" and that the coöperation of the faculty "in inviting and arranging for the conference" should be secured. The State Committee should prepare the program which should "cover the departments of college work." It was essential that there be present at least three experienced Association workers—"a prominent minister or layman, the state secretary, and one of the international college secretaries" (then only two—Wishard and Ober). The convention program should arrange to have "several topics opened by students from different Associations" and "they should be requested to confine their papers to a discussion of methods of work, rather than to dilate in a general way upon its importance." After a topic had been so introduced, it was the business of the chairman to "conduct an informal conversation on the subject, inducing the delegates to participate in it freely."²⁴

The same issue of *The Bulletin* carried an editorial giving some of the reasons for conducting these state college conferences apart from the meetings of the state conventions. "These have been found desirable on account of the many important questions bearing distinctly upon the college work which requires fuller discussion than can be given them at the regular state conventions. Moreover, many college Associations are unable to enter-

²⁴ *The College Bulletin*, November, 1885, p. 1.

tain state conventions and would, therefore, be deprived of the benefit derived from such meetings, were it not for the smaller conferences of college Associations."²⁵

The first State College Conference of Virginia was entertained by Washington and Lee University, November 20-22, 1885. Thirty delegates from seven Virginia colleges, outside of Lexington, were present. Every phase of college work was discussed, special emphasis being laid upon correspondence and visitation. This was one of the conferences visited by Studd, and "his thrilling account of the great missionary movement in Cambridge and his earnest direct appeal to the unconverted made a very deep impression upon the students."²⁶ During the year 1883-84 separate college conferences spread until in most states one or more college conferences were held with the coöperation of the State Young Men's Christian Association and the National College Secretary, but independent of the State Convention. So significant were some of these early separate conferences that (as in the case of the New England College Conference) the addresses and discussions were printed.²⁷

The development of the separate state student conference did not mean that students ceased attending the State Young Men's Christian Association Conventions or International Conventions. The numerical attendance, always small, remained for some years about the same, but the proportionate attendance decreased.

These first separate student conferences established the precedent for a long series of student meetings, including deputation conferences, summer student, presidents' or officers' training, social service, and conferences for the training of Bible study leaders. These separate, exclusively student conferences became the center of the life of the Student Movement, making possible the widest possible sharing of experience, fellowship, and training; and also giving to the traveling secretaries of the Movement centers in which they could take counsel with students regarding

²⁵ *The College Bulletin*, November, 1885, p. 6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, December, 1885, p. 1.

²⁷ a. Report of Fifth Annual Conference, Yale, 1887, 79 pp.

b. Report of Sixth Annual Conference, Boston, 1888, 84 pp.

future plans of the Movement. They also blazed a trail followed in more recent years by the separate young people's conferences of the denominations.

The intercollegiate deputation and the presidents' conferences of the nineties with their greater emphasis on training were one of the most important by-products of the separate conference. The creation of the summer student conference (1886) represented the extension of this idea to a national basis, thus replacing the national college conferences held in conjunction with the International Conventions. In announcing the Mt. Hermon Conference of 1886 it was said: "This will be the first exclusively college meeting of an international character. We have had over a hundred students at an international convention, but the time was short and many other interests outside of college work had to be considered, as only a fourth of the delegates were students. But here we will have one full month to ourselves and abundant opportunity to study thoroughly every phase of our sevenfold work."²⁸

This development of separate conferences, based though it was upon a real situation of differing need, marked the beginning of that large degree of separation from general meetings of the whole Young Men's Christian Association Movement that has more than once brought criticism on student work from leaders in other branches of the Young Men's Christian Association Movement.²⁹ That it could not be attributed in 1881 to 1887, or in any of the crises since, to the lack of belief in the essential validity of the Y.M.C.A. or to any peculiar zeal of national college secretaries for exclusive intercollegiate fellowship, seems strikingly clear. No college secretary more than Luther D. Wishard has desired to integrate the college work thoroughly with the rest of the Association brotherhood. Wishard, however, like every other student secretary since, was governed more by the facts inherent in the nature of the college world and of the Christian student society, than he was by his larger organizational connections. The "intercollegiateness" and the degree of separa-

²⁸ *The College Bulletin*, April, 1886, p. 1.

²⁹ See Pamphlet by Prof. John Coulter, University of Chicago (1900).

tion from the rest of the Young Men's Christian Association was an inevitable consequence of that fact.

Five years of experimentation with meetings held in conjunction with the state and international conventions had proved that the latter did not offer the opportunity for wide and deep intercollegiate Christian student fellowship that was essential if the Movement was to serve the Christian cause in the name of the Young Men's Christian Associations by fostering vital indigenous Christian student Associations and affording the intercollegiate and world-wide resources that their very natures demanded.

This was only one of the many ways in which the student Young Men's Christian Association, because of its very nature, had to be allowed a large degree of freedom and separateness within the life of the general Movement if it was really to carry into the life of the colleges the creative ideas of the Young Men's Christian Association. Because the Young Men's Christian Association has always been wise enough to hold the Student Movement quite lightly in its hands, giving it whatever freedom was necessary for its strategic work, the identification of student work with the Young Men's Christian Association has continued for three-quarters of a century—a relationship that both for sentimental and practical reasons still has great value for college Christian work.

CHAPTER XII

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE STUDENT YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

SINCE 1920 there has been a growing tendency on the part of the Student Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, local and national, to work much as though they were a single movement of men and women students. The rapid growth of co-education during the last two decades has made it clear that much of the spiritual leadership of the campus must be given unitedly. The forces and influences within campus and world life that affect men also affect women. Foredoomed to failure is any attempt to solve the ethical and religious problems of our day unless the processes for study and action are such as make natural really coöperative work on the part of men and women. The growth of this conviction among local and national men and women student Christian Association leaders has led to a rapid multiplication of joint activities.

The most dramatic expression of this idea was given at the Milwaukee Student Conference, held during the Christmas holidays, 1926-27. Twenty-five hundred men and women students were brought together by the two Christian Associations to think through the present-day implications of Jesus' idea of God and his attitudes toward life. It was not a conference, but rather a united search on the part of men and women students to discover the deeper meanings of life and God's finest gifts in the relationships of men and women. Milwaukee visualized a process that in many smaller local and intercollegiate ways had been quietly but rapidly going forward during the half-dozen years preceding it—a process that in 1934 is finding expression in nation-wide consultations regarding a new national student Christian movement. Its real meaning is found in the increasing ability on the part of

the Christian men and women to think, pray, and plan together and unitedly to work and carry through plans for the extension of God's kingdom among students of America. Milwaukee also dramatized the essential oneness of the student Young Women's and Young Men's Christian Associations—a fact with fifty years of history. The Louisville Conference (1877) that created the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association had nearly as great influence on the organization and development of Christian work among women students as it did on the development of the Young Men's Christian Association. During the first five years of Luther Wishard's leadership as National College Secretary, women students in co-educational institutions found their only opportunity for local and intercollegiate Christian fellowship and activity through the meetings, membership, and state conferences of the Young Men's Christian Association.

*Three forces were working at this time quite independently to bring about the organization of the Intercollegiate Young Women's Christian Association separate from the Young Men's Christian Association. The first, although not the most important, came from within the Young Men's Christian Association. Prior to and just following the Civil War many Young Men's Christian Associations included women in their membership, and women attended their conventions as regular or corresponding delegates. Two radically different philosophies as to objective and field of work contended for supremacy. Many Association leaders felt that, although the Movement "should work especially on behalf of young men," yet it should be ready to enter upon any work which "He shall open before us," and go into any field of general evangelistic work "into which the spirit of God might lead it." They feared that any attempt to limit the sphere of activity to young men would be "an attempt to instruct God as to how the Movement should be guided."*¹

Dwight L. Moody, then general secretary of the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association, was among those who held this view. Moody had early developed great gifts as a public

¹ Sixth Annual Convention, Young Men's Christian Associations, Troy, p. 99.

evangelist. The Chicago Young Men's Christian Association building when completed in 1868 reflected this general evangelistic philosophy, the main feature of Farwell Hall being its facilities for large evangelistic meetings. H. Thane Miller of Cincinnati and George H. Stuart, the "merchant prince" of Philadelphia, led these two city Associations in the same direction. Public evangelistic meetings were held for all ages and for both sexes; Sunday schools were organized; work of an evangelistic nature was done in men's and women's asylums and in men's and women's jails and almshouses. In a number of cases the general secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Associations were women. As late as 1900 the general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association at Colorado Springs was a woman. The first boys' work secretary of Buffalo, New York, was a woman.

William Chauncy Langdon, the college youth whose leadership in 1854 had created the National Young Men's Christian Association Confederation, vigorously opposed this philosophy *on the ground that it tended to make another religious denomination out of the Young Men's Christian Association*. Robert McBurney, the general secretary of the New York City Association, became the foremost advocate of Langdon's philosophy, contending with great vigor that the Young Men's Christian Association was called of God to be *an agency of young men*, giving specialized religious leadership to young men. The New York City building with its gymnasium and educational and social rooms was the architectural embodiment of this philosophy. It was McBurney's judgment that from the discussion at the Albany Convention (1866) dated a "reawakening of the Associations to work at home for young men by young men."²

A practical question faced by the Young Men's Christian Associations had to do with the representation of Associations having women members in the annual convention of their Confederation. This question was faced in the Montreal Convention (1867) when A. T. Cochran of New York moved that "representation be based only on male members."³ This motion was carried, but

² Doggett, L. L., *Life of Robert McBurney*, p. 165.

³ Young Men's Christian Association Convention, Montreal, 1857, p. 124.

a good many were dissatisfied, as evidenced by the fact that at the Detroit Convention (1868) William Edsall of Brooklyn presented the following resolution:

"WHEREAS the experience of many Christian Associations has demonstrated satisfactorily the advantages resulting from receiving ladies as members and whereas, we recognize the patent and elevating influence of woman in her efforts to advance the Redeemer's Kingdom among men; therefore, be it resolved that we hail with joy her coöperation in this department of Christian activity and labor, and recommend to the Association generally the admission of females to membership."⁴

The resolution was referred to the "Committee on Associations." Similar action was taken on a proposal made by Mr. Stilson of Cleveland that "this Convention recommend the organization of Young Women's Christian Associations throughout the land . . . to coöperate with their Christian brothers in this blessed work."⁵

When the Committee on Associations, with Mr. Cephas Brainerd as chairman, reported, they said that they "did not consider the resolutions in relation to the admission of ladies as members of the Associations as of vital importance" and they recommended that: "It is neither the province nor the duty of this Convention to decide upon the propriety of admitting ladies to the membership of the Young Men's Christian Association, but that each Association must decide that matter for itself upon a consideration of all the circumstances by which it is surrounded."⁶ Mr. Edsall moved an amendment to the committee's report to the effect that "the resolution adopted at the Montreal Convention confining representation to male members be, and is rescinded."⁷ After much debate Mr. Edsall's amendment was rejected and the committee's resolution adopted. The fact, however, of its being seriously discussed suggests quite clearly the situation that obtained at this time. Two years later Cephas Brainerd, as chairman of the Indianapolis Convention (1870), when asked "whether ladies should be admitted to the active membership" advised

⁴ Young Men's Christian Association Convention, Detroit, p. 91.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁶ ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

against it, but added "doing so, however, would not preclude such Associations from *representation in the Convention upon its male members only.*"⁸

These two quotations accurately reflect the situation that obtained until about 1880. The conventions of Young Men's Christian Associations were not prepared to say that an organization could not be considered a Young Men's Christian Association if it had women members. That was a question for the local Association itself to settle. They were, however, sure enough of the fact that *the major and peculiar responsibility of the Young Men's Christian Association was with young men* to legislate that representation in the conventions of the Young Men's Christian Associations should be simply "based on the number of male members in the local Association." This legislation, together with the growing demonstration on the part of the New York City Association and a few of the others, of the distinctive mission of the Young Men's Christian Association to young men, seemed finally to settle the question for city Young Men's Christian Associations.

The intercollegiate work began at about the time when this view was the controlling one among the Y.M.C.A. leaders. Luther Wishard's Association experience had been in Indiana, where many city Associations included women in their membership. Women had gone to the state conventions as delegates. It was not strange, then, that he should carry over into his early student leadership the attitudes towards women members with which he had been familiar in his Indiana work. Under his leadership the Student Young Men's Christian Association was becoming a most potent religious force in student life in the middle western co-educational colleges. This problem of the relation of women students to the Young Men's Christian Association was more acute in the co-educational college than in the city or town. The college was a compact community. Few of them enrolled as many as five hundred students and most student bodies numbered less than two hundred. There was no young people's movement in the churches; the first Christian Endeavor Societies

⁸ Richard C. Morse, *My Life with Young Men*, p. 167.

began about 1881. There were no women's movements except that of the Women's Christian Association, which found its strength in some of the larger cities of the East, the first city Young Women's Christian Association having been organized in Boston, March 3, 1866.⁹ This meant that college women had no opportunity for religious fellowship and expression unless the Student Young Men's Christian Associations in some way included them in their membership and conferences.

Because of this situation Wishard, both in his correspondence and his visits to conventions and colleges, took for granted that it was quite natural for women to be active in the work of the Student Young Men's Christian Associations, assuming "that it was better to have mixed Associations in the colleges than none at all, so proceeded to organize such. In drawing up the uniform constitution in Baltimore (1879 Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations) we deliberately inserted the word 'student' instead of 'men' in the articles of membership and the committee approved it."¹⁰

Women students were frequently officers of these Young Men's Christian Associations. It is rather difficult to trace the extent of this, because *the Young Men's Christian Association Year Books* printed "initials instead of the sex-betraying Christian names." *The Association Year Book* for 1882-83 listed the officers for Lawrence University, Appleton, Wisconsin, as follows: "President, A. Wilson; Corresponding Secretary, C. Althouse." This reporting of the Association officers does not reveal that "Miss Annis Wilson (Miss Elizabeth Wilson's sister) was a prize mathematician, then in her sophomore year, and that Miss Carrie Althouse was the best soprano singer on the campus."¹¹ That Wishard's convictions regarding joint Associations were shared by the "male members," of many strong college Associations may be judged by the following resolutions of the Cornell University

⁹ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, p. 32.

¹⁰ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 138-39.

¹¹ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, p. 122.

Christian Association, passed several years later when many joint Associations were dividing:

"The matter of the advisability of separating the Association into two Associations, a Young Men's Christian Association and a Young Women's Christian Association, was brought up and the proposal thoroughly discussed by President Adams, Professor Williams, Messrs. Thurber, Elliott, Grant, Mott, White, and others. The question was settled by the passing, without a single dissenting vote, of the following resolutions:

"WHEREAS, the association together in Christian work of young men and young women was the basis on which this organization was formed, and

"WHEREAS, during many years they have worked together in the utmost harmony, and,

"WHEREAS, the young women by their sympathy and zeal, by their faithfulness in attendance upon meetings, by their loyalty and hearty coöperation in every good work, have contributed largely to whatever success the Association may have achieved, and

"WHEREAS, although there are other organizations among the Christian students, this Association stands as the one recognized center of religious work in the University, therefore

"RESOLVED, that we should regard a separation of the young men and young women into two distinct organizations as of grave import, and that we affirm it as our most emphatic and sober judgment that such a step would be fraught with great peril to the welfare of the Association and to the prosecution of Christian work in the University; that every consideration of expediency and devotion to the cause of Christ convinces us of the wisdom of maintaining the present organizations; and that we extend to the women of the Association the assurance of our earnest hope and desire that they may continue to work with us in the way which experience has demonstrated to be so mutually helpful and advantageous to the common cause we all have at heart." ¹²

¹² Minutes of Cornell University Christian Association, January 20, 1886. It is interesting to note that John R. Mott, then Vice-President of the Association and later to succeed Wishard as National College Secretary, had a hand in these decisions.

Within the first five years of Wishard's college secretaryship Young Men's Christian Associations containing both men and women members were organized in sixty to seventy different colleges. The Parsons College (Iowa) Association in its report for the year 1881-82 says: "One of the most encouraging features of our work is that the ladies take such an active part in it. Although this is called a Young Men's Christian Association, the ladies are entitled to full membership and they engage in all kinds of work. I say '*all kinds*' because they now take part in our general devotional meetings. April 23rd dated a new era in this respect in our Association. On that day a lady led the meeting and several others led in prayer."¹³ The state conventions of the Young Men's Christian Association offered women students their only opportunity for intercollegiate Christian fellowship. Occasionally in these conventions the women students had separate conferences, but generally they shared fully with men students in the college conference and the convention sessions.

This rapid development of mixed Associations in the student field began to alarm some of the city Young Men's Christian Association leaders. One of them was so impressed by the number of women students in attendance at one of the middle-west state conferences that he reported his fears to Mr. Cephas Brainerd, chairman of the International Committee, who had become an ardent advocate of the idea "for young men only." In December, 1882, Wishard, in response to a telegram from Mr. Brainerd, returned to New York for conference with Morse, McBurney, and Brainerd on the problem of joint Associations. The result of this conference was an agreement to organize student Y.M.C.A.'s in the future on a strictly men's basis, and to be on the lookout for some solution of the problem of mixed Associations that "in no way sacrificed the interests of young women."¹⁴

In early February of 1882, while visiting the Young Men's Christian Association at Otterbein College (Westerville, Ohio),

¹³ L. D. Wishard, Scrapbook Letter regarding work of Parsons College Association.

¹⁴ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 139.

Wishard found his answer. "As far back as 1863" there had been a Young Ladies' Prayer Meeting at Otterbein, which met every Tuesday evening. In October, 1882, the young women who had been carrying on the prayer meeting organized a branch Association corresponding to the Young Men's Christian Association and called it the "Young Ladies' Christian Association." There seems to be some evidence that Wishard had earlier knowledge of the existence of this organization and that, with Mr. E. L. Shuey (then a member of the Otterbein faculty), he had encouraged the women in founding this separate organization.¹⁵ He now saw that by giving himself vigorously to urging women students to separate and form Young Women's Christian Associations, he could solve his problem and *really advance the religious interests of women students*. He accordingly urged the Young Ladies' Christian Association to send a large delegation to the Ohio State Young Men's Christian Association Convention which was to be held a few days later (February 8-11) in Mt. Vernon, Ohio.¹⁶ The records of this convention show that the following representatives of the Otterbein Young Ladies' Christian Association were received "as corresponding members": "Misses Fannie Beale, Emma Burtner, Jessie Ozoos, Tina Lorenz, Jessie Thompson, Emma Bender, Tirza Barnes, and Eva London." The minutes of this Association report that "Miss Fannie Beale . . . spoke in behalf of the Ladies' Christian Association." Definiteness of aim had resulted "in the conversion of all but four of the lady students." She urged the need of a separate organization in order "to make the influence of women most effective."¹⁷ *The College Bulletin* for March, 1883, reports the Otterbein women delegates as testifying to "the benefits resulting from a separate organization for the purposes of Christian work in a co-educational institution. The account of their work was received with great in-

¹⁵ Elizabeth Wilson, Historical Files, New York. Letter from Otterbein alumna, dated December 10, 1907, with quotations from *The Otterbein Record*.

¹⁶ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 140.

¹⁷ Minutes of Ohio State Young Men's Christian Association Convention, Mt. Vernon, Ohio, February 8-11, 1883, p. 34.

terest and awakened the inquiry: 'Why do not more of our colleges organize similar Associations?' " Wishard's determination to extend this movement immediately was reflected in his report that "Wooster University young ladies have formed a Young Women's Christian Association. This is a practical move. We commend it to other colleges." ¹⁸

What Wishard "found" at Otterbein and helped to promote through the Mt. Vernon Conference was a visualization of a *second and more fundamental force* that had been working for separate Associations. This was *the spontaneous, independent development of student religious societies composed exclusively of women students. Ten years before the organization of this Otterbein Association and five years before the organization of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association at Louisville*, one Sunday afternoon, November 12, 1872, a group of women students met in the room of Lida Brown at Illinois State Normal University (Normal, Illinois) and formed a Young Ladies' Christian Association. The constitution for this new Association was based on one borrowed from the Student Young Men's Christian Association. In September, 1881, this society changed its name to the Young Women's Christian Association.

The secretary of this new organization was emphatic with regard to its relation to the Young Men's Christian Association: "This Young Women's Christian Association is not an offshoot of the Young Men's Christian Association. The only part they took in the organization of our Association was that of a goad. They wearied us by saying continually, 'Why don't you form an association similar to ours?' This was after our prayer meeting had grown too large to be handled without some system and we were debating about what it was best to do. They also kindly lent us their constitution and by-laws upon our application. With the organization of the prayer meeting they had nothing to do, not even the part of the importunate widow." ¹⁹ Although this organization was locally independent from the Student Young

¹⁸ *The College Bulletin*, March, 1883, p. 4.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, pp. 115-16.

Men's Christian Association, yet students from the society attended the Annual State Young Men's Christian Association Convention in Illinois as regular delegates from 1873 to 1881 and as corresponding delegates from 1882 to 1884.²⁰

Between 1872 and the early eighties, in other widely-separated colleges, Student Young Women's Christian Associations came into being quite as spontaneously as the Illinois State Normal Association. It seems likely that Wishard knew of the existence of these earlier independent, separate women students' organizations. He had visited these colleges; hence the Otterbein Young Women's Christian Association did not represent for him a new discovery. Either he was not impressed by their significance or he was so convinced regarding the value of mixed Associations in co-educational colleges that he had no zeal for encouraging separate Associations until he was forced to do so by the demands of his position. It is certain that his associate, Robert Weidensall, the Western Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, knew of the existence of separate women's Associations, and, with his own convictions as a more seasoned Young Men's Christian Association secretary, favored them. Weidensall's memoirs make clear that his views and those of Wishard on this subject did not agree. In a letter written to Mr. Cephas Brainerd, chairman of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, on February 6, 1873, he says: "I have assisted in organizing four new Associations in this neighborhood—two in towns near by and two in the Illinois State Industrial University [now the University of Illinois]; one, a Young Men's and the other a Young Women's Christian Association."²¹

In 1873, Mr. Weidensall "visited the female association in Normal University [Illinois] and helped to reorganize the Young Men's Christian Association in the same University."²² In another place in his report he says that he "visited the two associations in

²⁰ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, p. 119.

²¹ *The Association Monthly*, March, 1873, p. 45.

²² Report of Robert Weidensall, International Committee of Young Men's Christian Association, 1873, p. 20.

the Industrial University at Champaign, Illinois, and the two associations in the Normal University, Normal, Illinois.”²³

At Northwestern College, Naperville, Illinois, on November 4, 1875, a group of girls formed a Young Ladies' Christian Association “for their own growth and the salvation of unsaved girls and the promotion of Christian work.” Prof. T. W. Heidner, of Northwestern College, referred to this new Association one year later in a letter to Robert Weidensall dated September 20, 1876. After speaking of the successful work of their student Young Men's Christian Association he said: “As a fruit of this Association I would also mention the organization of a young ladies' Christian Association, which promises to become no less a blessing to the lady students than the former is to the gentlemen.” In 1876, within a few days of each other, women's associations were formed at Olivet College (Olivet, Michigan) and the State Normal School at Carbondale, Illinois. The Association at the Illinois State Normal took the name Young Women's Christian Association and was an outgrowth of a previous informal women's organization called the Young Ladies' Prayer Meeting. A Young Women's Christian Association was formed on October 30th, 1877, at Lenox College (Hopkinton, Iowa).²⁴

This spontaneous development of student Young Women's Christian Associations would ultimately have developed into an intercollegiate women's student Christian organization regardless of other forces that were operating to bring this about. Women students could not long be content in finding their only opportunity for religious expression in an organization that was obviously and primarily designed for men students, where, as the records show, their initiative and leadership was limited by the very name and relationships of the organization. Even the use of the name Student Christian Association, as at the University of Michigan and Northwestern, did little to improve the situation because, in spite of name, these were largely man-controlled and

²³ Robert Weidensall, *Early History of the College World Young Men's Christian Association*, p. 22.

²⁴ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, pp. 120-21.

their only chance for much-coveted intercollegiate relationships was through the Young Men's Christian Association. Also women in the co-educational colleges would be separated from fellow students in the women's colleges and seminaries if they continued as mixed Associations related to the Young Men's Christian Association. This fundamental tendency toward an independent organization of Christian women students controlled future development more than Wishard knew; but it did not immediately meet the very serious obstacle to separate organization found in the fact that, *apart from their relationship with the Young Men's Christian Association, women students would be without opportunities for intercollegiate fellowship.* How to meet this was a serious problem.

While Wishard was seeking for a solution of this problem he was reminded again of the Women's Christian Association Movement, which since 1866 had been developing in eastern and middle-western cities. *This was the third force that was to influence profoundly the organization of women's Associations separate from the student Young Men's Christian Associations.* The first convention of the Women's Christian Associations had been held in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1871. Mr. H. Thane Miller, of the Cincinnati Young Men's Christian Association, was invited to take part in this and in a later convention of the Movement. Fraternal delegates from the Young Men's Christian Associations were generally present at these Women's Christian Association conventions.²⁵

It was a movement of loosely-federated local Associations, some of which took the name Women's Christian Association and others Young Women's Christian Association. In organization it differed distinctly from the Young Men's Christian Association at a number of points: Its conventions were purely for conference and inspiration and its continuing committees had no power excepting that of suggestion, whereas the Central Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, with its employed secretaries, had much to do with the extension and strengthening of

²⁵ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, p. 125.

the Young Men's Christian Association between conventions, although they worked within the limits of convention instructions. The rapid extension of the Young Men's Christian Association in the cities and colleges was due to the existence of State Young Men's Christian Association organizations with their annual state conventions, whereas in the women's movement were no state associations, no employed national secretaries; the only agency for fellowship and inspiration was the biennial national convention. The second point of difference was the membership basis. By 1869 the Young Men's Christian Associations had, by convention legislation, included in their fellowship only those Associations which required of voting members and office holders membership in an evangelical church—this having been defined by the Portland Convention in highly scriptural and metaphysical terms.²⁶ Although, increasingly, city Women's Christian Associations adopted an evangelical basis corresponding to their brother associations, yet consistently they refused in convention to legislate on this point for all Associations, feeling that this was a matter that should be left entirely to the local Associations. Wishard said he "knew precious little of a rather loosely-organized although very earnest movement known as the Women's Christian Association."²⁷

One of the leaders in the Women's Christian Association conventions was Mrs. H. Thane Miller, of Cincinnati, who was the principal of a young ladies' seminary, Mt. Auburn Institute, and the wife of one of the most influential Young Men's Christian Association's laymen. At the St. Louis Convention of the Women's Christian Association, held in October, 1881, Mrs. Miller reported on the excellent work done by the Young Ladies' Christian Association in her school and made a plea for the convention to encourage the organization of similar associations in young ladies' colleges and seminaries. So convincing was her appeal that the convention appointed a committee on work in

²⁶ International Young Men's Christian Association Convention (Portland, Maine), 1869, p. 51.

²⁷ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 141.

schools and colleges (Mrs. H. Thane Miller, Cincinnati, Chairman; Mrs. John McDougal, Montreal; and Miss A. L. Hayes, Boston) and passed the following resolutions:

"Believing that great good can be accomplished by the organization of Christian Associations in connection with the young ladies' colleges and seminaries of our country and that thereby the members of such schools will become familiar with and trained in the methods of Women's Christian Association of our land, therefore—

"RESOLVED: that a committee of three or five be appointed by this Conference, whose duty it shall be, by correspondence and other methods, to encourage the formation of such organizations in young ladies' schools and colleges, and secure from them, as far as possible, representation in our future conferences." ²⁸

There is evidence which suggests that Wishard in October, 1881, knew about this resolution, and perhaps assisted Mrs. Miller in writing it. Whether or not this is true, it is quite evident that at the time he did not look upon it as having any immediate significance for his work in the co-educational colleges. Naturally, he was delighted to have Associations in young ladies' seminaries and colleges, since these would strengthen the movement for strong Christian Associations in other colleges. He could, however, have done no more than give his enthusiastic support to some movement like the Women's Christian Association in this effort, since he could hardly hope to organize Young Men's Christian Associations in women's schools and colleges.

His situation after the conference with Brainerd in December, 1882, however, was different. As the college secretary of a movement that had settled on being an organization exclusively made up of men and boys and that was putting pressure on the mixed Associations to separate into men's and women's Associations, it was not unnatural that he should read into this resolution possibilities for the solution of his problem which were not in his mind previously and certainly not in the minds of the leaders of the Women's Christian Association.

²⁸ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, p. 126.

Stirred by the response of women students to the appeal for separate organizations made by Miss Beale at the Mt. Vernon State Young Men's Christian Association Convention (Ohio), Wishard now became an ardent advocate of women's Associations. At some time between the Ohio convention in February, 1883, and the National Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (May 16-20), or possibly at this convention, he conferred with Mrs. Miller about the possibility of wide use of the resolutions passed by the Women's Christian Association at the St. Louis Convention in 1881 to encourage the organization of Women's Christian Associations not only in "young ladies' colleges and seminaries" but also among women students in co-educational colleges. At the Milwaukee Conference a special session of the Conference was held for the purpose of receiving Mrs. H. Thane Miller, of Cincinnati, member of the International Committee of Women's Christian Associations entrusted with the organization of this work in co-educational and female institutions. Mrs. Miller briefly referred to the inauguration of this movement, and called special attention to the following reasons which make it desirable that such Associations be maintained:

"1. The young ladies in college feel a far greater responsibility in the work of an organization which bears their name, and whose sole purpose is their development in Christian work.

"2. Very many young ladies hesitate to take part in prayer and remarks in mixed assemblies, and unless they have separate meetings they are left entirely without such experience.

"3. This union with the College Young Women's Association, and the experience they there acquire, prepares them for active coöperation with this organization after leaving college, and for greater usefulness in all departments of women's work in the church.

"4. The organization of two Associations in co-educational institutions doubles the number of those upon whom rests special responsibility, i.e., it doubles the number of officers and committees.

"5. The existence of two Associations secures a healthful, stimulating competition, which is the very life of literary societies, and which greatly promotes the Christian activity of our colleges.

"The Conference unanimously adopted a resolution expressing their 'cordial recognition of the vast importance and practical character of the movement,' reported by Mrs. Miller."²⁹

It should be noted that this statement by Mrs. Miller to the Milwaukee College Conference in May, 1883, is the *first evidence of any activity on the part of Mrs. Miller's Committee of the W.C.A.*—which would seem to strengthen the position that the resolution had little significance for Wishard until he was confronted with the practical necessity of encouraging separate Associations in co-educational colleges. In the autumn of 1883 a circular entitled "Young Women's Christian Associations in American Colleges and Seminaries" and signed by Mrs. Miller on behalf of her W.C.A. Committee was sent to the colleges of the country. It gave the following advantages for separate organization:

"*First.* Young women will naturally feel an increased sense of responsibility in the work of an organization bearing their own name.

"*Second.* The existence of two Christian Associations in a co-educational institution will secure that healthful, stimulating competition which greatly promotes activity.

"*Third.* Many young women will feel more free to speak and act in meetings of their own than in those in which young men are present.

"*Fourth.* The organization in co-educational institutions of a special Association for young women by doubling the number of officers and committees, will double the number upon whom rests special responsibility.

"In schools and colleges exclusively for young women the proposed organization will not in any way interfere with existing so-

²⁹ Twenty-fifth International Convention, Milwaukee, 1883, pp. 116-17.

cieties or methods, but by bringing these societies into relation with those of other institutions will lend increased efficiency to their present methods of work and each society will become a means of help and inspiration to everyone.”³⁰

This circular, drawn up by Wishard and Mrs. Miller, reviewed the action taken at St. Louis and urged the formation of young women's Christian associations in the colleges, asking that women students correspond with Mrs. Miller as chairman of the Women's Christian Association Committee on Colleges. The printing and distribution of the circular was made possible by Wishard's vigorous leadership and the financial aid of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association. In the light of this, an alteration in the wording of the Women's Christian Association resolution was most significant. The St. Louis resolution encouraged "the formation of organizations in *young ladies' schools and colleges*." As it was printed in the circular the resolution favored the organization of "Christian associations in connection with *the young ladies in colleges and seminaries*,"³¹ an action which the Women's Christian Association Convention in St. Louis undoubtedly would have approved if Mrs. Miller's appeal at the time had been for the co-educational colleges as well as "young ladies in colleges and seminaries." This circular also made a second proposal which accurately reflected the thinking of women students pioneering these first associations, but which would not have been approved by the Women's Christian Association Convention—namely the suggestion of a sample constitution for a college Young Women's Christian Association which was modeled directly after the constitution of the Student Young Men's Christian Association and provided that the active membership "consist of lady students and teachers—who are connected with an evangelical church" and only such were to have the right to vote and hold office.³² The evident justification for urg-

³⁰ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, p. 127.

³¹ Luther D. Wishard, Scrapbook Circular, Young Women's Christian Associations in American Colleges and Seminaries, 1883.

³² Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, pp. 127-8.

ing that the college Young Women's Christian Associations adopt a constitution identical in its form and requirement with that of the men students was to be found in the greater necessity for close coöperation between men and women's associations than existed in cities. It was also true that the early women student leaders were much more evangelical than some of the leaders of the W.C.A. *That there was no thought at the time of anything excepting a Student Department of the Women's Christian Association, the records seem to make abundantly clear.*

This circular, Wishard's visits, and the active propaganda of women student leaders did the work. In college after college during the next few years student Young Women's Christian Associations were formed on the basis of organization proposed in this circular. This made the society identical with the student Young Men's Christian Association. To provide intercollegiate Christian fellowship, Wishard began at once encouraging the formation of State Young Women's Christian Associations. *The College Bulletin* reports that at the State Young Men's Christian Association Convention held at Albion College, Michigan, in February, 1884, "the first state organization of college Young Women's Christian Associations was formed. . . . An executive committee was elected and measures recommended for the prosecution of this important work throughout co-educational colleges and young ladies' seminaries in the state."³³ The Ohio Convention, at Dayton, February 14-17, 1884, followed Michigan in organizing a State Young Women's Christian Association.

The development from this point was rapid, because the state organizations, made up wholly of students, felt a responsibility for extending the movement to all of the co-educational and women's colleges and schools in the state. The state organizations also helped to safeguard the evangelical character of the Associations by limiting membership to those with this requirement for voting and office holding. These state constitutions used the definition of "evangelical" adopted by the 1869 Portland Young Men's Christian Association Convention.

Young Women's Christian Association delegates at the State

³³ *The College Bulletin*, February, 1884, p. 3.

Young Men's Christian Association Convention at Joliet, Illinois, met on October 11, 1884, "at the call of Mr. L. D. Wishard in the basement of the Ottawa Street Church for the purpose of appointing a temporary state executive committee." Naomi Knight, of Northwestern College (Naperville, Ill.), was elected chairman of this committee and plans were made for a conference to be held in Bloomington in January. After remarks by Wishard, Weidensall, and I. E. Brown "expressing their interest in the work and the hope that it might be successful—the gentlemen withdrew and the meeting was turned into a prayer meeting."³⁴ The "first convention in history" of college Young Men's Christian Associations and Young Women's Christian Associations was held at Bloomington, Illinois, the students at Illinois Wesleyan being hosts. Similar joint college conventions were held in Wisconsin, Indiana, and Michigan during February, 1885.³⁵

At the National College Young Men's Christian Association Conference held in conjunction with the International Convention at Atlanta in May, 1885, Mr. Wishard made the following report: "Now there are nearly two thousand girls organized in seventy or more college Associations. In six states they have formed state organizations."³⁶ Rebecca Morse, in her *History of the American Committee of Young Women's Christian Associations*, says: "Mr. Wishard performed his work so thoroughly that between the years 1883 and 1886 the young women students in from eighty to ninety institutions were organized separately in Young Women's Christian Associations side by side with those of the young men, on the same basis, in accordance with the constitution recommended, with similar objects and work, and pursuing similar methods."³⁷ The rapid growth of this movement in the colleges under the vigorous leadership of Mrs. Miller and Wishard made it seem that the time had come to report back to the Women's Christian Association Movement, whose

³⁴ Minutes of State Y.M.C.A. Convention, Joliet, Ill., for October 11, 1884.

³⁵ *The College Bulletin*, January, 1885, p. 10.

³⁶ Twenty-sixth International Convention Y.M.C.A., Atlanta, p. 79.

³⁷ Rebecca Morse, *A History of the American Committee of Young Women's Christian Associations*, pp. 13-14.

resolution had given such encouragement to this organization of women students separate from the student Young Men's Christian Association.

In line with this conviction, the problem of the relationship of this rapidly growing college Young Women's Christian Association movement was discussed in all the state conferences of the Young Women's Christian Association, during the early months of 1885. Even before this the girls in the Iowa and Ohio State Conferences had begun to raise a fund for the financing of an "International College Secretary—a young woman" who would work with women students as Wishard was doing with the men.³⁸ This discussion was timely because of the approaching Women's Christian Association Convention to be held in October, 1885, to which Mrs. Miller's committee would report.

Possibly the discussions in the Illinois State Young Women's Christian Association Conference, held in Bloomington, Illinois, January 16-18, 1885, may be taken as suggesting the action taken by other state associations. Miss Naomi Knight (Mr. Weiden-sall's niece) was made chairman of the committee to prepare articles for state organization.

The minutes for the closing day (January 18, 1885) state: "Mr. Wishard suggested that the organization join with the Women's Christian Association on certain conditions. Mr. Wishard was appointed as a Committee to report on these conditions." At a later meeting on the same day this committee report was received and the resolutions representing the conditions for union with the Women's Christian Association were adopted.³⁹

Identical resolutions and greetings from this growing college movement to the 1885 Cincinnati Convention of the Women's Christian Associations were prepared by all the State Young Women's Christian Associations. Anna Downey, the State Chairman of Indiana, Ida C. Schell, the Chairman of Iowa, and Naomi Knight of Nebraska, formerly of the Northwestern College (Na-

³⁸ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, p. 132.

³⁹ Minutes of College Young Women's Christian Association Conference, Bloomington, Illinois, January 17, 1885, p. 9.

perville, Illinois), were appointed by these Associations to go at their expense as their representatives to the Cincinnati Conference. The greetings they carried with them requested that the Women's Christian Association Conference accept these Associations and

"1. That a permanent international organization of the Young Women's Christian Associations be formed whose object shall be to promote the physical, social, mental, and spiritual welfare of young women, whose membership shall consist of Young Women's Christian Associations whose active—i.e., voting and office holding—membership shall be limited to young women who are members in good standing of an evangelical church.

"2. That a permanent executive committee be appointed by the Convention to oversee the execution of its plans in the development of its work."⁴⁰

These resolutions were never presented to the convention. Private conferences held by the students with leaders revealed the fact that there was no chance that the Women's Christian Association would accept their proposals because of the organizational changes proposed and especially because of the evangelical church membership requirement. The entertaining Association was non-evangelical and this discussion was certain to embarrass them. The Women's Christian Association Convention leaders urged the students to wait two years until the convention in New York, which was evangelical, and promised to give them their support. Some of the Women's Christian Association leaders believed the students planned to do this. So far as the convention as a whole was concerned, the presence of the students meant nothing more than a visualization of the success of the Women's Christian Association in the colleges—a conviction strengthened by the fact that at the convention of 1883, as well as at the present convention, Mrs. Miller's committee had reported this remarkable growth as a response to the action in 1881 of the Women's Christian Association.

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, pp. 168-69.

The students felt their mission had failed and reported to their Associations and their state organizations the attitude of the leaders of the Women's Christian Associations. After much conference and prayer the conviction grew that no other course was open to these student Associations but to form an independent evangelical Young Women's Christian Association Movement, which could heartily coöperate with the Student Young Men's Christian Associations. As Miss Wilson said, "There was complete misunderstanding on both sides."⁴¹

Something of the feeling that characterized those deeply interested in this rapidly-growing college Young Women's Christian Association Movement is reflected in the following quotation:

"The Young Women's Christian Association Movement is assuming such proportions and is so closely related to our college work that some mention of its work is not out of place in *The Bulletin*. Since the opening of the present year, reports have come to us of the organization of Young Women's Christian Associations on a strictly evangelical basis in nine colleges. . . . These Associations are working independently of the Young Men's Christian Associations in these institutions and yet giving a stimulus to their work by promoting a healthy rivalry between the two organizations. We hope soon to see a competent young woman in the field as Young Women's Christian Association secretary, visiting, organizing, and strengthening these Associations as Messrs. Wishard and Ober are doing among the college boys."⁴²

Beginning with the meeting of the Illinois State Young Women's Christian Association, which was held at Normal, Illinois, January 29-31, 1886, the State Young Women's Christian Association Conferences received the report of the committee that represented them at Cincinnati and passed resolutions calling for a Young Women's Christian Association Convention to be held in the summer of 1886 to form a national organization. Ac-

⁴¹ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, pp. 170-71.

⁴² *The College Bulletin*, December, 1885, p. 12.

cordingly, acting on the results of the study, discussion, and prayer of their Associations, a group of nineteen women students representing eighty Associations and six state Young Women's Christian Associations met on August 6-12, 1886, at Bayview Cottage, Camp Collie (Lake Geneva, Wisconsin) and organized themselves into the National Young Women's Christian Association.⁴³

The objectives for this new national organization, together with the list of delegates, were drawn up on a letterhead of Robert Weidensall, Western Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, whose niece, Naomi Knight, was an outstanding student leader of this new movement. As conceived during the months preceding and during the days of the Lake Geneva Conference, this new organization, although made up primarily of college Associations, was nevertheless to be open to city and other Young Women's Christian Associations that might care to unite with this evangelical movement.

Only a few days before this, another historic meeting had taken place at Mt. Hermon, Massachusetts, namely, the first summer student conference. The close connection between these two great student meetings is suggested by the following report of one of the Young Men's Christian Association methods hours at Mt. Hermon which appeared in *The Springfield Republican* of August 2, 1886.

"Two phases of Young Men's Christian Association work were introduced by Wishard: The first, a bit of a paradox, was the work among young women. Mr. Wishard told about the separation of the Young Women's Christian Association from the Young Men's Christian Association; and made the fellows thoroughly acquainted with this movement that obtains its chief growth and power among the western co-educational colleges. The previous mixed membership was not acceptable but the new Young Women's Christian Association on the same lines is decidedly so. . . . Now there are eighty or ninety college Young

⁴³ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, pp. 172-73.

Women's Christian Associations in many states and the work is to extend to the seminaries and colleges where 30,000 of the 75,000 young women seeking higher education are to be found; and who could not be reached under the old order of things. The girls already have ten state associations and their representatives will meet for a national conference and to appoint a national committee and secretary at Lake Geneva in Wisconsin next week. Mr. Wishard and his wife will attend the meeting. The Young Men's Christian Association immediately voted to send a letter of sympathy and encouragement to the Young Women's convention." ⁴⁴

After the meeting at Lake Geneva, Wishard, in his report to the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association said:

"For several years part of my time has been engaged in forming Young Women's Christian Associations in co-educational colleges where my regular work called me. After securing about eighty Associations in twenty states and forming state organizations in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, a national convention was assembled on the banks of Lake Geneva, August 6-12, 1886. A national organization was there formed and a national committee with headquarters in Chicago. Mrs. J. V. Farwell, Jr., was elected chairman and Miss Nettie Dunn of Hillsdale College was called as national secretary. She entered work on December last and is visiting colleges, attending conventions, starting associations in colleges and cities, and in a word, prosecuting the work along the same line followed by the Young Men's Christian Association. The organization was drawn up in a way that made it possible for city units to be associated with it." ⁴⁵

This movement, starting as an *evangelical intercollegiate movement*, spread into the cities and into other lands and in 1894 was a charter member of the World's Young Women's Christian Association.⁴⁶ Beyond a doubt, its strict evangelical temper in a time

⁴⁴ *The Springfield Republican*, August 2, 1886, p. 6.

⁴⁵ L. D. Wishard, Biennial Report, 1887, *Year Book, Young Men's Christian Association*, pp. xli-xlii.

⁴⁶ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, pp. 181-83.

when this counted, and its more efficient organization were responsible for its rapid spread through the cities and colleges of this and other lands—a growth which for two decades caused much embarrassment to the Women's Christian Association Movement and put a great strain on the Christian understanding and courtesy of both movements. Happily, through the statesmanlike leadership of Miss Grace Dodge of New York, these two national Women's Christian Association movements were united in 1906, forming the present National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America.⁴⁷

The differences between the ways in which the men and women found their relationships to the present general movements of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. are worth noting. The students at Louisville (1877) adopted the Y.M.C.A. as the best possible channel for their intercollegiate movement, choosing this connection in preference to a separate movement "more collegiate in character." The women students, because they felt that the conditions for connection with the Women's Christian Association Movement would limit their own development and make their coöperation with the student Y.M.C.A.'s. more difficult, chose to form an independent national Young Women's Christian Association organization, with which they invited women's Associations in cities and towns to affiliate. The foundations laid by these students were so sound that their organization became the one through which ultimately all women's Associations achieved their sense of solidarity and world-wide fellowship.

AUTHOR'S COMMENT:

Neither in this chapter nor in the official Y.W.C.A. histories is there given any adequate picture of the rise in American schools and colleges of voluntary women's Christian student societies. It is to be hoped that in the near future careful research on this will be done in the history and archives of the older co-educational

⁴⁷ Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women*, Chapter XVI.

colleges and colleges for women. The data now available are too external and organizational to do credit to the spontaneity that must have characterized the women's Christian student groups that preceded the first Student Young Women's Christian Associations. Such a study would also involve the recovering of a picture of women's participation in early joint student Societies of Inquiry and Y.M.C.A's. Above all, it should portray the conscious and unconscious connection between the growing women's movement in national and world life and the effect of this on the seemingly contradictory evolution on the one hand to more separateness and on the other hand to more united fellowship and activity with the Student Young Men's Christian Associations.

CHAPTER XIII

THEOLOGICAL AND MEDICAL STUDENTS' MISSIONARY MOVEMENTS

OF many Christ-ward movements of students that grew out of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association, one of the earliest and most interesting was that begun by seminary students during the second year of the Movement's life. Robert Mateer of Princeton was a classmate and warm friend of Luther Wishard. He had been a member of the Philadelphian Society Committee which prepared the letter to the colleges calling the Louisville Conference. With Wishard, he had been one of the delegates to Louisville and had enthusiastically assisted in the creation of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement. Upon graduation he entered Princeton Seminary. During Wishard's second year as college secretary, he carried on his theological work at Princeton Seminary.

The success of the Christian Movement in the colleges stirred Mateer greatly and he too became possessed of a dream. Having dedicated his life to the foreign missionary work of the Church, he wondered if some inter-seminary organization might not be created for the purpose of awakening missionary enthusiasm and leading to life-dedication among theological students of the country.

On March 15, 1879, three Princeton theological students—Mateer, William Addison Alexander, and David O. Irving—counseled together regarding Mateer's dream of an inter-seminary missionary organization. After much conference and prayer this little group, convinced that they were being called of God to give leadership to such a movement, formulated a letter which was sent over their joint signature to all the evangelical theological seminaries in the United States. There were in these semi-

naries at that time about three thousand students. This letter stated that the three had been led to consider the establishment of "some permanent system of inter-seminary correspondence on the subject of missions." They were not quite clear how this could best be done but suggested the possibility of an inter-seminary paper. They were impressed by the urgency of theological students "assuming an attitude of broader intelligence, deeper interest, and more definite conviction concerning the work of foreign missions." "What significance," they asked, "is attached to the unsettled convictions of theological students on the subject? Is anything indicated by the fact that if little or no interest is awakened in the mind before entering the ministry, it seldom springs up afterwards? Is it not important for a young minister to enter the pastorate with his missionary policy as well defined as his Sunday School, or prayer-meeting policy? Would not the personal surrender of a large number of men to the work abroad be likely to call forth funds and arouse a more extensive missionary spirit at home? Are we not justified in concluding that a *genuine missionary revival* is needed in the church and especially among theological students?"¹

The immediate and enthusiastic response led to a call for an informal inter-seminary meeting to consider further the idea of some type of inter-seminary missionary organization. The year 1880 was one of great and spontaneous missionary activity on the part of a number of seminaries. Students of Princeton and Hartford issued circular letters to all evangelical seminaries in the country, urging students "to a deeper concentration in behalf of this incomparably important department of church work" and suggesting that special meetings be held on that day for prayer and personal inquiry in this matter.²

The circular issued by the Hartford students said: "Thoughtful Christians are asking that this great question 'Men for Missionary Fields,' be made a special topic for the next Day of Fast-

¹ Luther D. Wishard, Scrapbook: circular letter from Mateer, Alexander, and Irving, March 15, 1879.

² *Ibid.*: circular letter of Hartford Seminary students.

ing and Prayer for Colleges and Theological Seminaries." Challenging "students now in separate bodies, yet all sent under one commission," to respond to the call for missionary service, this circular said: "It seems clear to us that in our day God is most unceasingly beckoning the Church to one general movement and we are convinced that it will have larger results for Christ and His church if we all think and move as one man."³

On April 9, 1880, twenty-two students from twelve seminaries assembled in New York in response to the invitation of the Princeton committee. The seminaries represented were Andover, Auburn, Boston, Drew, Hamilton, Hartford, New Brunswick, Newton, Princeton, Rochester, Union, and Yale. C. S. Noyes, of Andover, was elected chairman of this meeting. The group unanimously favored calling at an early date a national inter-seminary convention "to consider themes bearing upon our relation to foreign and home missions, both as prospective missionaries and as prospective pastors."⁴ The call for this first inter-seminary conference was signed by R. M. Mateer, chairman, Princeton; William Burt of Drew Seminary, Madison (N. J.); N. N. Waterbury of Rochester Seminary; J. D. Willard of Andover; and William H. Williamson of Rutgers Seminary, New Brunswick (N. J.). The committee had this to say with regard to the program: "The Convention will be in session for two or three days. Sessions will be devoted to discussions opened by students, and prominent men in the Church will address the Convention on different evenings. This Convention is called in the hope of stimulating a livelier missionary spirit among students, and of communicating a new impetus that may shape itself into some systematic efforts in the different seminaries."⁵

Although the group issuing this convention call felt sure that some inter-seminary organization was needed, yet they felt that it would be better for such an organization to be formed at the time of their convention when a more representative body would

³ Luther D. Wishard, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Report of First Convention of the Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance (1880), p. 3; *The College Bulletin*, April, 1880, p. 3.

⁵ Luther D. Wishard, Scrapbook: letter calling first Inter-seminary Missionary Convention for New Brunswick, New Jersey, October 21-24, 1880.

be present. In the minutes of the New York meeting they said: "It is hoped that this Convention will lead to a permanent inter-seminary missionary association. Accordingly the conference appointed a committee to prepare a plan for an organization to be submitted to the convention in October." ⁶

Mr. Wishard, in reporting this New York Conference, said: "We recently attended a conference of theological students in New York whose outcome bids fair to exert a mighty influence upon the Church." Speaking of the plan for the missionary convention, he said that its object was "to give an impulse to the missionary spirit in the foreign and home seminaries of all evangelical churches. We could not but contrast the meeting with the first college conference in Louisville, Kentucky, in June, 1877, and we believe this seminary effort will be blessed as the college movement has been." ⁷ Speaking of the possibilities involved in the missionary convention, he said that if the convention brought together one hundred theological students and sent them back to their three thousand fellow theological students, the result of this would mean "an awakening in behalf of missionary work whose power and results cannot be overestimated." ⁸ In another report of this New York meeting, the following comment is made with regard to its significance: "If the students of our country will lay hold of the missionary question vigorously, it won't be long until there are student representatives from 'Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand'; it won't be long until a vast proportion of Christians in this country will send their sympathies, their prayers, and their means into all the world that the Gospel may be preached to every creature." ⁹

Rutgers Seminary was the host for the first convention of the Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance, October 21-24, 1880. The response of the seminaries to this idea greatly exceeded the expectations of Mateer and his fellow students. Thirty-two semi-

⁶ Luther D. Wishard, *Scrapbook: minutes of conference of Theological Seminaries*, New York, April 9, 1880.

⁷ *The College Bulletin*, April, 1880, p. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *The Christian Intelligencer*, April, 1880.

naries were represented by 250 students. Around a discussion of the missionary task of the Church these future leaders received during the four conference days a new vision of Christ and of missionary obligations resting upon all who attempted to follow in his footsteps without regard for denominational labels and relationships. Much of the time was spent in the discussion of principles and methods of work for developing missionary interest in the seminaries. Stirring addresses were given by prominent pastors and delegates had "their hearts fired by the burning enthusiasm of distinguished missionaries from China, India, Africa, Italy, and Japan."¹⁰

One of the most interesting papers read at the conference was that of Robert Mateer, reporting the missionary work and interest in the seminaries. This paper summarized correspondence and visits to the seminaries made by Mr. Mateer. The following facts come from this report:

"Most seminaries have a society of inquiry—sometimes they are controlled jointly by faculty and students and in some seminaries entirely by students. In some, consideration of the home field is included; in a few, city missions or work in the surrounding country. The constitution of several is so general as to provide for almost any religious subject. This we think a great mistake. The simpler and more focalized the better. . . . Twenty-three hold monthly meetings, generally called monthly concert (two have other monthly concert); two have other monthly meetings of students; four have weekly missionary prayer meetings. . . . In organizing and reorganizing in our seminaries, let us see to it that provision be made for weekly missionary meetings in every seminary in the land. . . . We are sure that these meetings will prove a mighty engine in such an outgoing of our intelligent sympathies and prayers, yes, and of ourselves. Reading of letters from missionaries is mentioned by many. Something may be accomplished in this way. It has its drawbacks, however. The best missionaries are busy in their work and have no time for much letter writing."¹¹

¹⁰ *The College Bulletin*, April, 1880, p. 3, and Report of Alliance Convention (New Brunswick), 1880, p. 63.

¹¹ Report of First Alliance Convention, New Brunswick, pp. 33-36.

In this paper Mr. Mateer outlined a program involving monthly missionary meetings, missionary correspondence, the reading of missionary reviews, the use of missionary maps, greater attention to prayer for missionary enterprise; and especially the observance of the Day of Prayer for colleges, the use of missionary literature, the cultivating of the habit of giving to missionary causes, and finally the dedication of life to missionary service.

The New Brunswick Convention was the first national meeting of students, whether from colleges or seminaries, *centering wholly upon the home and foreign missionary obligations of the Church and of the schools and colleges*. It was also the largest national student religious meeting held up to this time. In a very real sense it stands out as the forerunner of the later series of quadrennial conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement which brought together both college and seminary students. In view of this some of the topics discussed are worth recording.

"The Church Fundamentally a Missionary Society."

"The Indifference of the Church to the World's Evangelization: Its Causes and Remedy."

"Scope for the Best and Most Diverse Talents and Culture in Missionary Work."

"The Right Attitude of Young Men to Home Mission Work."

"What Constitutes a Call to the Foreign Missionary Work?"

"The Claims of India."

"The Individual Appeal and the Individual Answer."

"Pastoral Responsibility to Missions."

On Saturday afternoon, October 23, 1880, the convention adopted the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization, calling for the organization of the American Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance. Membership in the Alliance was to include all evangelical theological seminaries which desired to coöperate in realizing the aims of the Alliance—"the furtherance of practical interest in, and consecration to, foreign and home missions on

the part of theological students, both as prospective missionaries and prospective pastors.”¹²

The Christian Intelligencer made the following comment with regard to the significance of this first Inter-seminary Conference:

“The idea of holding such a convention seems like a gracious inspiration. . . . It is quite within the memory of comparatively young men when the denominations stood almost in relation of rivals with each other in the missionary work. And it would have been thought impracticable for the ‘Christian Union’ to have thrown its clasped hands around such a body as came together in New Brunswick last week. . . . What hath God wrought? The hearty brotherhood of the Convention was marked. The missionary work was considered as a whole and individual missions were only alluded to as illustrations. It may be gravely doubted whether the young men themselves were quite aware how the missionary work had sunk out of sight and how much such a convention did for the promotion of Christian unity . . . The Convention was a grand success. It put before young and impressible minds a vivid but practical example of the unity of the Christian enterprise of conquering the earth for our Lord: and it brought down to them the essential one-ness of Protestantism. It seems to us that this Convention marks an epoch and might be pointed back to with almost as much significance as the famous haystack group at Williams College, where the American Board was born.”¹³

Wishard, who attended as a Princeton Seminary delegate, believed that “the Convention, considering the number and character of delegates” and the cause that they were brought together to consider was to be regarded as “one of the most remarkable events in the history of the Christian Church. The Movement,” he said, “owes its origin, growth, and wonderful consummation to one young man (Robert Mateer) who goes in a few months as a missionary to China . . . There will doubtless be such a turning to mission fields as had not been witnessed since the days of

¹² Report of First Inter-seminary Conference (New Brunswick), 1880, p. 6.

¹³ Quoted in the Report of the First Inter-seminary Conference, *The Christian Intelligencer*, October 28, 1880, p. 62.

the apostles and those men who do not go will have missionary churches at home." ¹⁴

That this convention did much to quicken Wishard's missionary interest and his leadership of the missionary interests of the college movement seems clear. In an article on the college missionary meeting written following this convention, he emphasized the peculiar importance of missionary work in the colleges because of the fact that the colleges must provide the men to be trained by the seminaries for foreign service as well as educating an intelligent and enthusiastic missionary lay leadership for home. Appealing to college students to rise to this opportunity, he says: "Fellow students, would it be a good thing to set in operation such influences as will arouse the entire Church upon the subject of missions? It is possible to do it. If the colleges are moved, the Church will feel it from center to circumference. One man in each Association who is thoroughly alive to this subject can arouse the entire college. Who will be the man?" ¹⁵

The second convention of the Alliance at Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, one year later, brought together 240 students from thirty seminaries, representing more than a dozen different denominations and including in their delegations ministers and professors as well as students. At this convention a number of college undergraduates attended as corresponding delegates. The devotional meetings of the convention were distinguished for their spiritual power. Wishard's estimate was that "a meeting composed of such men gathered to consider the last command of Jesus could not fail to be enthusiastic and profitable. An immediate result of its influence was the consecration of several students to the work of missions." The convention voted to extend to college Associations "in sympathy with evangelical work" an invitation to send delegates to their conventions as corresponding members. They discussed the work being done by the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association under Wishard's leadership on behalf of missions and passed a resolution "heartily approving the methods employed in this direction under the aus-

¹⁴ *The College Bulletin*, November, 1880, p. 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

pices of the Young Men's Christian Association." Referring to the great part that Robert Mateer had had in the inauguration of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement and in conceiving and bringing into being the Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance, and to the fact that between the first and second conventions Mateer had sailed for China to begin his life work, Wishard remarked that Mateer now "has the blessed satisfaction of beholding the remarkable progress which these two great enterprises are making. That which God hath joined together in the beginning, let us hold together to the very end. Let the colleges and seminaries of our country stand together and work together until the gospel is given to all the world and all the world receives it."¹⁶

The third meeting of the Alliance was held in Chicago, October 26-29, 1882, and was composed of 300 representatives from forty different seminaries. A report made to the Chicago meeting showed that there were 512 graduates from the 32 different seminaries reporting to the Alliance Committee. Of these 512 graduates, thirteen per cent had decided to put their lives into home mission work, and eight per cent into foreign missionary work. An additional thirteen per cent were seriously considering either home or foreign mission service. This committee reported also that there were missionary societies in all but one of these seminaries. During the three years that had elapsed since the idea was first discussed by the Princeton Theological group, the Alliance had grown in influence until fifty-two different seminaries representing fifteen denominations were affiliated with it in its work. The annual conventions of the Alliance were the chief feature of the work, although occasional studies with regard to missionary interests in the seminaries were carried forward by the Alliance Executive Committee.¹⁷

J. H. Lowry, speaking as a fraternal delegate to the Fourth National College Young Men's Christian Association Conference,

¹⁶ *The College Bulletin*, December, 1881, p. 2.

¹⁷ Report Third Annual Convention American Inter-seminary Movement, Chicago, Illinois, 1882, pp. 130-133; and *The College Bulletin*, November, 1882, pp. 3-4.

Milwaukee, in 1883, of the significance of the Alliance, stressed the fact that students and professors from many different seminaries "had met for three years, sinking all differences of denomination"—and that "the members of the Alliance swore that as for us, we will give our lives to win America for Christ." But the Alliance he said had gone beyond this—they had written on the banner, which had too long contained the words "America for Christ," those other more worthy words "The World for Christ."¹⁸ At Wishard's request C. K. Ober, a recent Williams graduate, carried the greetings of the college Movement to the fourth Alliance Convention held in Hartford, Connecticut, October 25-28, 1883.

There were, however, deeper reasons for these interchanges of greetings. They lay in the desire of both movements to come to a clear understanding regarding the work in the colleges. Many of the Alliance leaders wanted to see the missionary work in the colleges related to the Alliance.¹⁹ To the student Young Men's Christian Association leaders this seemed to introduce dangerous complications and to rob the Associations of their missionary interest. Accordingly, when Ober went to the Hartford Conference of the Alliance as a representative of the Student Movement, he went under the following instructions from Wishard:

"You go as the representative of the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A., not as the representative of any committee.

"You want to make the Alliance fully understand the fact of our Organization. You should, of course, do this briefly, yet clearly. You should touch clearly upon the six-fold purpose of our work, viz.:

- "a. Individual work
- b. Bible study
- c. Prayer meeting
- d. Missionary meeting

¹⁸ Twenty-fifth International Convention, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1883, pp. 112-114.

¹⁹ See discussion on "Missionary Interest in Colleges," Report of Third Annual Convention of the American Inter-seminary Movement (Chicago, 1882), pp. 47-58.

- e. Neighborhood work
- f. Intercollegiate relations

"This should be done in a very few sentences and leave more time for touching more forcibly upon the two great fundamental purposes of our work:

- "1. To save men in college
- 2. To send men out to save men
 - a. as Christian business men
 - b. as Association secretaries
 - c. as ministers
 - d. as missionaries

"Now then, for your strong point! The attention of men must be turned toward the work of foreign missions before deciding to stay here in this country.

"This we are actually doing by:

- "1. Missionary meetings (monthly)
- 2. Missionary literature
- 3. Missionary addresses
- 4. Missionary conventions and discussions
- 5. Missionary correspondence
 - a. with alumni
 - b. with students in missionary colleges (We are just about issuing a letter of fraternal greetings to missionary colleges all over the world.)

"Some Associations are supporting students in missionary schools. At the end of the last college year thirteen college men reported their decision to go as missionaries as a result of the College Y.M.C.A. missionary work. A special point should be made about the medical college Associations very greatly emphasizing the missionary department of the work. Speak of the Medical Students' Missionary Conference at Lake Forest, Illinois, and the larger meeting to be held in Chicago this fall.

"Call attention to the fact that the students who inaugurated the missionary movement in America were college boys, and show how they went to several colleges, Union, Yale, etc., to try to arouse missionary zeal, and tell how they failed in securing any definite results because of the terrible spiritual dearth

in the colleges. Then show how the college boys in the latter part of the century took up the work and established it upon a thorough intercollegiate basis.

"Appeal to the alumni in the Alliance to stir up their college Associations to increased missionary endeavor and express the satisfaction it gives us as college students to be recognized as corresponding members of the Alliance."²⁰

The frank conference and interchange of fraternal greetings by the Alliance and the Association helped to extend the spirit of coöperation and sympathy between these two student religious movements, making them substantially a single movement for the total missionary interest of the Church. The Alliance with its annual conventions grew in its influence in the seminaries and also did much to quicken the missionary interest and activity of the Student Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. It was a real factor in preparing for the later missionary awakening at Mt. Hermon (1886). The Alliance continued an independent existence until some years after the beginning of the summer student conferences and the formation of the Student Volunteer Movement. The rapid extension, both of the summer student conferences and of the Student Volunteer Movement, with its great missionary conferences, making an equally strong appeal to theological and college students, tended to lessen the significance of the Alliance conventions.

When the American Student Movement united, in 1895, with Student Movements in other countries to form the World's Student Christian Federation, there grew up among the leaders of the Alliance a strong desire for a closer integration of their work with the work of the World's Student Christian Federation. The rapid growth of the Student Movement, together with its expanding missionary interest and activity, showed that the Alliance was losing a great deal by not being more integrally a part of the life of the Student Movement.

J. Ross Stevenson, then a professor at McCormick Theological Seminary, reporting at the Chicago Convention of the Alliance

²⁰ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 49-50.

(November 12-15, 1896) on "Organized Effort for Missions Among the Students of the World," pictured vividly the ways in which "the Christian students of all lands are organizing for a great advance movement and in order to bring all these organizations in touch with one another" have organized a "World's Student Christian Federation." Moved by these considerations and by the changed conditions, the Alliance at this Convention voted that "the following relations should be sustained or cultivated: (a) that the Alliance should recognize and appreciate its vital relation to the Student Volunteer Movement; (b) that the Alliance should endeavor to come into touch with the Canadian theological colleges; (c) that the Alliance should be affiliated in some way with the World's Student Christian Federation."²¹

It became increasingly apparent that summer conferences and the quadrennial conventions of the Volunteer Movement were in a position to do for the theological seminaries as well as the colleges all that had ever been done by the Alliance Missionary Conventions, and at the same time relate the theological seminaries closely to the missionary interest and activity of American college undergraduates and to lead them into membership in the World's Student Christian Federation. The Alliance faced a practical difficulty in Federation relationship because the Federation would recognize only one Christian movement in a country. The Executive Committee of the Alliance saw that the only way to meet this situation was by becoming a Theological Section of the Student Young Men's Christian Federation. The growth of this conviction led to the organization between 1896-98 of Student Young Men's Christian Associations in a number of the seminaries. By 1898 so many seminaries had taken this action that at a meeting of the Alliance held February 28, 1898, the Alliance was dissolved and the delegates from the theological seminaries proceeded to organize themselves into the Theological Section of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association.²²

²¹ *The University Record* (Chicago), December 25, 1896, Report of Seventeenth Annual Convention, American Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance, pp. 500-501.

²² *The Intercollegian*, October, 1898, pp. 8-10.

Robert P. Wilder, who had done pioneering work for the Student Volunteer Movement, was called by this theological committee to be the first National Theological Secretary of the Student Young Men's Christian Associations. During the first year twenty-seven theological seminaries in sixteen different denominations became charter members of this new inter-seminary organization.²³ This new movement inside the Young Men's Christian Association was organized on a broader basis than the Inter-seminary Alliance, extending its interest to the deepening of the spiritual life of seminary students, relating seminary students to the World's Student Christian Federation, and carrying forward, as in the days of the Alliance, the foreign missionary work and interest.

A similar missionary movement among medical students had its beginnings within the Student Young Men's Christian Association under the direct personal leadership of Wishard. Inspired by the successes of the inter-seminary missionary conferences and feeling the burden that rested upon the Church to provide medical missionaries Wishard, February 2-4, 1883, called together the first Medical Students' Missionary Conference at Lake Forest, Illinois. The conference, which was small, brought together students from the six medical colleges of Chicago to consider the need of medical missionaries. Wishard regarded it as "but the beginning of a movement fraught with wonderful significance to the cause of missions."²⁴

A second Medical Student Missionary Conference was held in the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association building on December 9, 1883, with fully six hundred medical students in attendance. The program combined discussion and missionary addresses; a special meeting for the "lady student delegates" was addressed by representatives of the Women's Foreign Missionary Boards.²⁵

One hundred students at this meeting responded to the call to attend an after meeting of those sufficiently interested in medical

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *The College Bulletin*, February, 1883, p. 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, December, 1883, p. 1.

missionary work to give it consideration as a life vocation. In reporting this meeting Mr. Wishard said: "We earnestly hope that the knowledge of this meeting may come to the one hundred medical colleges of this country, where there are 1,200 medical students, many of them Christians. If these Christian students are thus informed they will see that they can ask for and promote similar conferences and they will do it." ²⁶

This Movement spread among the medical schools of the country, particularly those concentrated in the larger cities—New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Baltimore. Over one hundred students attended the first Medical Students' Conference in New York, December 14, 1884.²⁷ The Sixth Medical Students' Missionary Conference was held in the Young Men's Christian Association building in Philadelphia and brought together five hundred medical students from the Universities of Pennsylvania, Jefferson, and the women's medical colleges. Addresses were given by missionaries from Burma, China, and Syria. A conference hour, called a "Quiz," was one in which the students were given a chance to ask questions of missionaries and mission board secretaries. Fully 150 students remained after the adjournment of this conference to consider more fully the life work opportunity in the field of medical missionary work.²⁸

The conferences at Chicago and Philadelphia are typical of the medical students' missionary conferences held in the other big cities. Because of the crowded schedule of the medical students, these meetings had to be confined to Sundays and had to be held at places easily available to the students. This Movement marked the beginning both of missionary interest among medical students and the conscious effort on the part of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association to discover an approach to the moral and religious problems of the professional school students in large cities. To this latter problem John R. Mott, in the early years of his college secretaryship, gave aggressive and fruitful leadership.

²⁶ *The College Bulletin*, December, 1883, p. 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, January, 1885, p. 11.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, March, 1885, p. 18.

CHAPTER XIV

AN EVANGELIST AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

To understand some of the most significant developments in the early years of the Student Movement one must be sensitive to the religious awakening that spread through American cities, towns, and colleges during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, largely because of the leadership of Dwight L. Moody, evangelist, whom Henry Drummond described as "the biggest human" he had ever met.¹

Dwight Lyman Moody was born on February 5, 1837, in the home of a Connecticut Valley farmer in East Northfield, Massachusetts. Four years later the father died, leaving a widow, nine children—the eldest but thirteen years of age—a little home on the mountain side, and an acre or two of mortgaged land. "How this widow shouldered her burden of poverty, debt, and care; how she brought up her flock, keeping all together in the old home, educating them and sending them out into life stamped with her own indomitable courage and lofty principle, is one of these unrecorded histories whose pages, when unfolded by time, will be found to contain the secret of nearly all that is great in the world's past. They were so poor that the creditors, with incredible heartlessness, took from the widow everything she possessed, including the kindling wood from the woodpile."²

At the age of seventeen Dwight left home to make his fortune in the city. He secured employment as a clerk in the shoe store of an uncle, Samuel Holton, who, as a condition for employment, insisted that Moody agree to go regularly to church and Sunday school. The turning point in the life of this country lad came

¹ Henry Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody*, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 50.

shortly after his arrival in Boston, when one day while wrapping shoes in the rear of Holton's shoe store he gave his life wholly to Christ in response to the faltering invitation of his Sunday school teacher, Edward Kimball.³ In May, 1855, he presented himself for membership in the Mount Vernon Congregational Church, Boston, but after examination the church declined to accept him because he "was not sufficiently instructed in Christian doctrine."⁴ After a long period of probation the church finally received him. He became a successful Sunday school teacher but he spoke so poorly that his elders discouraged him from taking part in the prayer meetings.⁵

Moody's connection with the work of the Young Men's Christian Association was lifelong. "I am going to join the Christian Association tomorrow night," he wrote to his mother shortly after leaving home. "There I shall have a place to go when I want to go anywhere and I can have all the books I want to read and only have to pay one dollar a year. They have a large room and the smart men of Boston lecture to them for nothing and they get up a question box."⁶

The lure of the West was too much for him. The autumn of 1856 found him in Chicago, where until 1860 he divided time between business, the development of a big Sunday school, and the work of the Young Men's Christian Association. So successful in business was he that when only twenty-three he had saved \$7,000.⁷

But Christian work had so completely absorbed his interests that he gave up business, using his savings to provide his daily support. The North Market Hall Mission Sunday School was his first religious enterprise. Beginning with about a hundred ragged street urchins, it grew rapidly into a Sunday school of 1,300. He identified himself with the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association soon after its organization, 1858. Shortly he became its

³ William R. Moody, *Life of Dwight L. Moody*, pp. 42-43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

⁵ Henry Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody*, p. 64.

⁶ William R. Moody, *Life of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 81.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

President and in its noon evangelistic services and Sunday evening meetings he began the development of those gifts of public and personal evangelism that later made him the world's greatest evangelist.⁸

As President and General Secretary of the Chicago Association he organized in 1862 the work done for soldiers through the United States Commission. Over fifteen hundred meetings were conducted in the Army Young Men's Christian Association Chapel constructed just outside of Camp Douglas. This work followed the Union Army soldiers to the fighting front, Moody himself ministering to the wounded after the battles of Pittsburg Landing, Shiloh, and Murfreesboro.⁹

Besides preaching, personal evangelism, and the distribution of religious literature, the program included medical and nursing service such as would today be carried on by the Red Cross. In view of this extensive ministry with the men under arms, Moody could not conscientiously enlist to fight. His convictions regarding war are of special interest. He said: "There has never been a time in my life when I could take a gun and shoot down a fellow-being. In that respect I am a Quaker."¹⁰

This Civil War experience established Moody's reputation as a public evangelist. When peace came, the demands for evangelistic work multiplied in a way that proved so embarrassing to his work with the Chicago Association that in 1871 he resigned the secretaryship to devote himself wholly to public evangelism.

At the Indianapolis Convention in 1870 he made the acquaintance of Ira D. Sankey, "whose name must ever be associated with his, and who contributed in ways, the value of which it is impossible to exaggerate, to the success of his work."¹¹ Sankey at this time was a revenue officer and doing well. "He was also a very active layman in the Young Men's Christian Association, helping especially in its conventions through his singing." Sankey

⁸ Richard C. Morse, "Mr. Moody and the Y.M.C.A.," *Association Men*, February, 1900, p. 145.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-96.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹¹ Henry Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody*, p. 67.

led the singing and sang a number of gospel songs at a meeting addressed by Moody. So impressed was Moody that, after much persuasion, he induced Sankey to give up his business and join him in his evangelistic work."¹²

Toward the end of the summer of 1873 Moody, in response to the invitation of a few English friends, arrived with Sankey in Liverpool for the purpose of holding religious meetings in the large cities of England. Moody had used up his savings in his Chicago work. It was not until a few days before the actual sailing for England that he had enough money to pay his passage—then it came quite unexpectedly through a gift of \$500 from Mr. John V. Farwell, of the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association, who thought he "might need some money after he got to England."¹³ Moody and Sankey arrived in England practically unknown. Their handbills said that "one of them preached and the other sang the Gospel." Two of the group of friends inviting them had died. They were confronted at the start with indifference and opposition on the part of the clergy and laymen, who scorned their message and distrusted their American methods.¹⁴

"Mr. Moody's so-called Americanisms prejudiced the super-refined against him; the organ and solos of Mr. Sankey were an innovation sufficient to ruin almost any cause."¹⁵ "Moody's preaching was biblical and ethical, the doctrines those of catholic Christianity."¹⁶ "He preached in a manner which produced the sort of effect produced by Luther. He exalted in the free grace of God. His joy was contagious. Men leaped out of darkness into light and lived the Christian life afterwards."¹⁷

So remarkable were the conversions in these early meetings that the news of Moody's personality and power spread like

¹² Ira D. Sankey, "How Mr. Sankey Joined Mr. Moody," *Association Men*, February, 1900, p. 149.

¹³ John V. Farwell, "Early Work in the Chicago Association," *Association Men*, February, 1890, p. 148.

¹⁴ George Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁵ Henry Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody*, p. 78.

¹⁶ G. A. Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 98.

¹⁷ Henry Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody*, p. 10.

wildfire across Great Britain. Soon an invitation came from Edinburgh, where, by the time of the Christmas holidays, 1873, Moody was drawing crowds that overflowed the greatest churches and meeting places in the city. In six months Moody and Sankey, who had arrived unknown and with few credentials, became "the strongest religious force in the country. Our people were stirred as they had not been since the days of Wesley and Whitefield."¹⁸ "It is not too much to say that Scotland would not have been the same today but for the visit of Mr. Moody and Mr. Sankey; that so far-reaching was and is the influence of their work that any one who knows the religious history of the country must regard this time as nothing short of a national epoch."¹⁹

Students at New College, Edinburgh, flocked to Moody's meetings, many of them answering his call to go out to the smaller communities and spread the message of the campaign through deputations. Among the students who came to his meetings was a brilliant theological student then working in a social settlement. He had been critical of the Church of England because of its formalism and lack of personal evangelistic zeal. He was drawn to the meetings of Moody and Sankey because of the reports of their work with individuals in the "inquiry room."

Moody, quick to sense the extraordinary culture and ability of this youth, asked him to carry the work of the mission into Sunderland. Thus began an affectionate lifelong comradeship between Henry Drummond and Dwight L. Moody, a friendship all the more significant because of the great contrast between their educational backgrounds. Drummond was a contagious Christian personality, a man whose scientific training gave him rare ability to state the essentials of religion in terms harmonious with the best results of advanced scientific study. Moody, with little school training, knew men and was so completely Christ-centered that he was able to help both cultured and ignorant see the essentials of Christianity and want to follow Christ.

The qualities in Moody that attracted Drummond to him also

¹⁸ Henry Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody*, pp. 3-6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

drew into the circle of Moody's warmest supporters many of the other "first minds" of his generation, both in America and Europe. As evidence of this one needs to recall but a few of those who frequently confessed how profoundly their lives had been influenced by him—such as George Adam Smith, Wilfred Grenfell, John R. Mott, and Henry B. Wright. One who, in Great Britain, had known "every great contemporary thinker from Carlyle downward," said, "In sheer brain size, in the mere raw material of intellect, Moody stands among the first three or four great men I have ever known."²⁰

Drummond gave every minute that could be spared from his studies to organizing missions and deputations in smaller communities. Groups of New College students spent week-ends, or longer holiday periods, in evangelistic meetings and personal fellowship with the young people in communities near Edinburgh. Through this work of Drummond and of other groups of college students inspired by Moody, thousands of folks in villages and towns were influenced by the Moody Mission who could not otherwise have been touched.²¹ This English mission continued for nearly two years. In the latter part of 1875 Moody and Sankey returned to this country enjoying an international reputation as evangelists. The demands of cities across the country for campaigns under his leadership were far beyond the limitations of Moody's time and strength.

Despite Moody's contact with students during his British mission, he was extremely reticent about accepting college invitations.²² Conscious of his own educational limitations he felt that there must be men better qualified than he to bring Christ's message to college students. The acceptance of President McCosh's invitation to speak on the Day of Prayer at Princeton in 1876 was an exception that later was of great consequence to the Student Movement.²³ In 1878, responding to a petition of five hundred students, he had reluctantly accepted an invitation to Yale.

²⁰ Henry Drummond, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

²¹ George Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, pp. 67-108.

²² Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 119-120.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

The large crowds and response in after meetings proved his ability to reach students.

In 1883 Moody was invited by the students of Oxford and Cambridge to conduct a religious mission. After much hesitation he accepted. In the first meetings, both at Oxford and Cambridge, Moody was subjected to much embarrassment by the scoffing and ridicule of disorderly students. When Sankey sang at Cambridge he was greeted with jeers and exploding firecrackers. However, despite the well-organized opposition of a group of students who felt intellectually superior to these two uneducated American evangelists, his courage, sportsmanship, and Christlike bearing won out. Eighteen hundred Cambridge students attended the final service, many remaining later for questions and personal conferences. At Oxford many leading students and professors became Moody's supporters and helpers.²⁴

During these meetings two famous Cambridge athletes, C. T. Studd and Stanley Smith, were converted. Smith was stroke of the Cambridge eight and Studd captain of the Cambridge eleven. These two students later were the center of the Cambridge Missionary Seven, and the story of their decision to go to China started a wave of missionary enthusiasm among English university students like that which later was started in American colleges by the Mt. Hermon Missionary Band.

One gets a vivid impression of the effect upon college students of the work of the "Cambridge Seven" from the following paragraph taken from an article of *The London Christian* of February 18, 1885, reporting the visits of C. T. Studd and Stanley Smith to Edinburgh:

"But the event that has precipitated the shower of blessing that is falling in our midst, is the recent visit of the two young athletes of Cambridge, who are now on their way to preach Christ to the Chinese. Students like other young men are apt to regard religious men of their own age as wanting in manliness, unfit for the river or cricket field, and only good for psalm singing and pulling a long face. But the muscular hands and long arms of the ex-captain of the 'Cambridge Eight,' stretched out in entreaty,

²⁴ W. R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, pp. 350-357.

while he eloquently told the old story of redeeming love, cap-sized their theory; and when C. T. Studd, a name to them familiar as a household word, and perhaps the greatest gentleman bowler in England, supplemented his brother athlete's words by quiet but intense and burning utterances of personal testimony of the life and power of a personal Savior, opposition and criticism were alike disarmed and professors and students were seen in tears, to be followed in the after-meeting by the glorious sight of professors dealing with students and students with one another."²⁵

J. E. K. Studd, brother of C. T. Studd and also a very popular Cambridge University athlete, presided at Moody's Cambridge meetings and came to America two years later to tell American college students the story of this missionary awakening. On Moody's return from the Cambridge and Oxford Mission, Luther Wishard, on behalf of the colleges, again urged him to reconsider the requests of American colleges for his help in campaigns of evangelism. Moody was not yet convinced that he could give the leadership needed in American colleges; he had a feeling that possibly the requests brought to him by Wishard were not *bona fide* student requests. Sensing this, Wishard got in touch with Christian Association leaders at Princeton, Yale, Dartmouth, and Harvard. From all these colleges, petitions bearing hundreds of student signatures invited Moody to come to the colleges to address the students. These college campaigns, especially those at Yale and Princeton, were so successful that Moody's opposition was overcome.²⁶ From that time forward Moody's interest in the Student Movement and his participation in its work developed so rapidly that his influence greatly increased the evangelistic zeal of the Movement and led to some of its most creative developments.

Through his evangelism he was able "to stir to the very center conservative universities," and to move "the greatest universities of the Anglo-Saxon world as they have never been moved before

²⁵ *The College Bulletin*, March, 1885, pp. 19-20.

²⁶ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 138.

for Christ.”²⁷ But more important even than these great works of evangelism were Moody’s contributions to the colleges through his intimate identification with the whole work of the student Young Men’s Christian Association, especially through the summer student conferences at Northfield. Said George Adam Smith, critical scholar and historian: “Moody, like Luther, had a very large nature. You require the sea to throw back the full effect of the sun; even the gospel itself can attract but feebly when reflected from a small or a narrow man.”²⁸

²⁷ John R. Mott, “The Greatness of Moody,” *Association Men*, February, 1900, p. 151.

²⁸ Henry Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody*, p. 10.

CHAPTER XV

THE SUMMER STUDENT CONFERENCES

THE summers of 1885 and 1886 were occupied with events which were destined to determine the course of the Student Christian Movement for many years ahead. The acceptance in 1885 of Moody's invitation to Northfield by Messrs. Morse, Ober, and Wishard, and their wives, opened up many new doors of opportunity to the Student Movement—the most important being the Summer Student Conference. A few years previously Moody had begun holding at Northfield a general convention for Christian workers. When the trio of student workers arrived at Northfield they found Moody greatly distressed because the man who had agreed to take charge of all the entertainment arrangements for the delegates to the Christian Conference had just notified him of his inability to keep his agreement. C. K. Ober, Williams '82, who six months previously had been called to share with Wishard the leadership of American student work, volunteered to help in this emergency. The experience he had gained in managing a club at Williams helped him in caring for the physical comfort of the conference delegates. Moody, grateful for this service, readily responded to the suggestion of Mr. Morse that he send a letter to fifty friends asking them to join him in making available a fund of \$5,000 to take care of the increase in the national student budget made necessary by the addition of Ober as College Secretary. This was the beginning of increasing leadership given by Moody in finding support for the national college work.¹

Another by-product of this summer's work in the colleges was the decision of Wishard and Ober to ask J. E. K. Studd, brother of C. T. Studd and chairman of Moody's Cambridge meetings,

¹ C. K. Ober, *Luther D. Wishard*, pp. 79-81.

to make a tour of the colleges to tell American students the story of the "Cambridge Missionary Seven." Studd and his wife were at Northfield, and Ober and Wishard heard there for the first time the story of the "Cambridge Seven." So stirred were they by it that, with Moody's help, they secured Studd's consent to change his plans and give several months to visiting American colleges.²

The Bulletin of November, 1885, announcing the visit of J. E. K. Studd to the American colleges, said, "When Mr. Moody was holding meetings in Cambridge and it was deemed necessary to have a man on the platform with him, whose presence could command respect and assist in securing orderly attention from the students, Mr. J. E. K. Studd was chosen from the three thousand students to occupy that post. He was captain of the university cricket team, and in supporting Mr. Moody, performed the same service for him that his father had some time before rendered at Eton. Through this work at Cambridge, Mr. Studd's brother, widely known because of his connection with the national cricket team, was led to enter upon the China inland mission work. With him went four other prominent Cambridge graduates. It is the thrilling story of the religious work at Cambridge and the great missionary movement in which it resulted, and the wonderful interest awakened throughout Great Britain and the points touched by these men en route for China that Mr. Studd tells our students."³

Studd's visits to colleges and conferences awakened new missionary enthusiasm and was a factor in preparing the way for the missionary enthusiasm at Mt. Hermon the next year. The deepest significance of Studd's work came in the challenge that his message and personality brought to a religiously-indifferent and self-satisfied Cornell University sophomore. The story of the spiritual revolution that resulted in the life of John R. Mott (the Cornell sophomore) will be told in another connection.⁴

Summarizing the results of Mr. Studd's work, Mr. Wishard

² *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

³ *The College Bulletin*, October, 1885, p. 7.

⁴ See Chapter XIX.

wrote: "Mr. Studd's personal interest and work have brought our students into closer sympathy with those of England, and strengthened the bond of Christian fellowship between us. His stimulating narrative of the young men who went from Cambridge University to do missionary work in China, has given impulse to the missionary zeal in our colleges, the result of which we believe will be seen in the decision of many to enter foreign missionary fields. His own personal experience in college life as a leader of athletic and Christian work of the university has appealed strongly to our students and has led many to consecrate their lives to Christ."⁵ Studd's visits occupied three full months and took him to twenty colleges, to the medical students' missionary conferences in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago and to state college conferences in New York, Wisconsin, and Virginia. Altogether, through these opportunities he had opportunities to influence students in seventy-nine different institutions.

Dissatisfied with the opportunities for national intercollegiate fellowship offered by the college meetings held in conjunction with the international conventions, there had been growing in Wishard's mind for some time the conviction that some provision must be made for a national assembly of students separate from these general conventions. The experiences of these eventful weeks of fellowship and study at Northfield gave to this dream the form of a summer assembly of students at Northfield. He shared with Ober this "idea of assembling college men in Northfield for a number of days preceding the opening of the college year."⁶ His thought was that by bringing together a great national assembly of students it would be possible "to gather up and consolidate and perpetuate the missionary interests which the previous years had widened and deepened."⁷ The experience of the first eight years of intercollegiate work demonstrated the necessity for some national college conference that

⁵ *The College Bulletin*, March, 1886, p. 21.

⁶ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 104.

⁷ *Ibid.*

would give an adequate opportunity for addresses particularly calculated to meet the moral and religious needs of students, and for unhurried discussion of the problems of students and the college Young Men's Christian Association work. The movement was extending so rapidly in the colleges that both Wishard and Ober felt keenly that a really representative national meeting was essential to its unity and extension.

One morning, shortly after this conversation, Mr. Moody invited Wishard, Ober, Morse, Studd, and their wives, to get into his carry-all for a ride over the neighboring hills. The drive took them by the buildings which were being constructed for his boys' school at Mt. Hermon, across the river from Northfield. As they neared the shacks that were being lived in by the workmen Moody turned to the group and said: "If you fellows will get together a company of Association general secretaries next summer, we can entertain them in these workmen's houses and I will give them a Bible reading every day."⁸

The wives spoke up at once, saying that their husbands and most Young Men's Christian Association secretaries already were spending enough time away from home in conferences.⁹ Moody's question made Wishard's heart beat faster, because it seemed a God-sent answer to his prayer that his dream of a summer student conference might be realized. He kept silent because he knew that this was a matter that needed first the authorization of his National Student Committee. Then Moody asked: "Wishard, what do you want?" Wishard, in his *Memoirs*, says: "I had grace given me, however, to evade his question by intimating that I wanted something pretty big, which I would spring upon him bye and bye."¹⁰

The dream of a great summer assembly of the students of American colleges so possessed Wishard that on January 1, 1886, he wrote from his Atlanta home a letter to Henry H. Webster and Cleveland E. Dodge, who were the sub-committee on student

⁸ Richard C. Morse, *My Life with Young Men*, p. 350.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 126.

work of the International Committee, sharing with them his idea and asking their official endorsement. Approving letters came back quickly from both men. Mr. Morse was also heartily in favor of the plan, so that Wishard felt that he had clear sailing for dealing with Mr. Moody.¹¹

His first opportunity for conference with Mr. Moody came in April, 1886, when Moody was in Atlanta for evangelistic meetings. As they sat together at dinner at the Kimball Hotel, Moody suddenly asked: "Wishard, what about my proposal of a Bible Study Conference for general secretaries at Mt. Hermon?"¹² He stated that Crossley Hall, a new dormitory, was now completed and with the cottages there was ample accommodation for two hundred men. He also said that, if the secretaries wanted to come he would give a full month of his time to them.¹³

This was enough for Wishard. "I then closed with him. I pointed out the difficulties in the way of enlisting the attendance of general secretaries and frankly told him how I had longed for such a conference of college men and how fully Ober and I would coöperate in working up a gathering of them."¹⁴ Moody was reluctant to believe that college men would give up a month of time in the summer vacation to come to a place like Northfield for a "Bible Conference." Wishard pointed out the great vacation attractions in a place like Northfield. Moody was unwilling to make any decision.¹⁵

Determined to secure Moody's approval, Wishard joined him a few days later in his meetings at the University of Virginia. When the meetings were over Wishard again urged for a final decision. Moody hesitated, saying that first he wanted to be sure of a program that would attract college students and that he had better communicate with some acceptable college speakers. Wishard told Moody that his name and his "alone" would draw the students and that they had plenty of time to work up other details of program.

¹¹ Luther Wishard, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Moody, realizing that the time was short for the securing of delegates, and that the success or failure of the proposed conference depended on the work of Wishard and Ober in getting delegates, finally, with some misgiving, said: "Well, I guess we'd better try it." Wishard bade Moody a hasty good-bye and departed for his train. When he next saw Moody in company with Ober in Northfield several weeks later, "the whole matter was well in hand."¹⁶

Wishard immediately wired to Ober and Morse, asking for a meeting extraordinary the next day, April 13th, to work out the details of this summer student conference plan. On April 13th these three men met in New York and drafted the circular announcing "the First Summer School for Bible Study for the Students of the American Colleges."

The circular, which, with Mr. Wishard's accompanying letter, is given here in full, was rushed to the printer and was in the mail before the week-end.

THE CIRCULAR

COLLEGE STUDENTS' SUMMER SCHOOL FOR BIBLE STUDY—TO BE CONDUCTED BY D. L. MOODY AT NORTHFIELD, MASS., JULY 1-31, 1886.

We are happy to convey to your Association the following invitation from Mr. Moody. He is proposing to hold a College Students' Summer School during the entire month of July at his home in Northfield, Mass., a delightful place of summer resort, where are offered abundant opportunities for wholesome recreation. The object of the school will be the study of the Bible and of such methods of Christian work as are adapted to college life. Mr. Moody, while himself conducting the meeting every day, will also bring to his aid men of wide experience in Bible study and Christian work.

The regular exercises are not to exceed two hours a day, the balance of the time being devoted to just such recreation as students need after the work of the college year, the Connecticut River being accessible for boating, and the mountains in every direction affording opportunities for walking and climbing. Other

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

facilities for outdoor exercise and sport will also be furnished. Such opportunities for conference and study as the students may desire outside of the time mentioned, can also be arranged for.

Mr. Moody can accommodate over two hundred persons in his school buildings at Northfield. Accordingly, he is able to invite each of the two hundred and twenty-five College Young Men's Christian Associations to send one representative.

It may be that some colleges will not avail themselves of this invitation; others will desire to send more than one. In view of this, it is of imperative importance that every College Association act upon this matter immediately and inform us of its action by the first of May, in order that the colleges which desire it may secure increased representation.

The entire cost of living will not exceed five dollars a week. There will be no other expenses. Reduced railroad fares in the way of excursion tickets are always offered in the summer season, and from whatever point your delegate may come he will be able to avail himself of this reduction.

Mr. Moody seeks the benefit not only of the individual students who come, but also that of the institutions which they represent. He, therefore, desires that every College Association should select as its representative, a student who will be in college two years longer, and one well qualified to impart to others during that time the benefit which he shall have received.

The invitation offers to Christian students rare opportunity of spending enough time with Mr. Moody to gain the benefit of his thorough experience in Christian work and of his knowledge of the Bible for use in such work.

Please let us hear from you on this important subject before May 1st.

L. D. Wishard,
C. K. Ober,
52 East Twenty-third Street,
New York City.

THE LETTER

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS
CORNER TWENTY-THIRD STREET AND FOURTH AVENUE,
NEW YORK CITY.

COLLEGE DEPARTMENT

April 16, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR:

In addition to the enclosed circular, I send you this personal letter to ask that you will secure for this invitation of Mr. Moody, the immediate prayerful attention of your Association. Nothing has occurred in connection with our College Associations which is, in my judgment, more full of promise than this summer school.

I sincerely hope you will allow nothing to prevent your being represented. The zeal, information, and suggestions which your delegate will bring to you after this month of contact with a man whom God is so wonderfully using in promoting His cause, will be of inestimable service to your work. The two hundred men can easily be secured from New England alone, but Mr. Moody is anxious to widen the influence of this meeting as much as possible. So you, in connection with every other College Association, will be afforded an opportunity of representation.

At Mr. Moody's request, I offer the following suggestions:

1. Please call a meeting of the Association at once, and decide promptly whether or not the invitation will be accepted. Then appoint a committee to select the man. It is far better to select him in this careful way than to go into a general election.

2. Notify me immediately after the Association decides the matter, and then as soon as the man is chosen send me his name, so I can communicate with him. I will then give him such further particulars concerning the matter as he will need to know.

Finally, may I again impress upon you the absolute importance of immediate attention to this matter, as Mr. Moody cannot proceed in offering increased representation to the colleges which desire it, until I hear from you.

A students' gathering of this sort, upon so broad a scale, and allowing so protracted an opportunity for fellowship and conference has never before been attempted in the history of our work; and at this, the first meeting of its kind, we shall regret to have a single college unrepresented.

Very sincerely yours,

L. D. WISHARD
College Secretary.

Having sent out this call for a summer student conference to all the colleges of the country, Ober and Wishard immediately got busy on the matter of visits to the colleges for delegates. They divided between them the eastern and southern sections of the country and started on their campaign for conference delegates.

Cornell University was assigned to Ober. *The Cornell University Christian Association Bulletin* for May, 1886, says: "Mr. C. K. Ober, College Secretary, will spend an evening with our Association this term."¹⁷ On arrival at Ithaca, he met the newly-elected vice-president of the Association, John R. Mott, the sophomore whom Studd had recently led into a conquering religious experience. Studd, in reporting his Cornell visit to Ober and Moody, had said, "You had better keep your eyes on that young man." After a little discussion Ober clinched the matter with Mott and then they "went out and got nine other men, so that Cornell had a delegation of ten picked men at the Mt. Hermon Conference."¹⁸ These ten students, with Mott as their leader, went back to Cornell and revolutionized the religious life of the university in the next college year.

Included in Wishard's assignments was a visit to his *Alma Mater*, Princeton, and there Wishard spent much time with a senior who hesitated about going to Mt. Hermon because he was just graduating and would not be able to return to Princeton to spread the results of this conference. This senior, Robert P. Wilder, had been the center of a group of Princeton students who had caught Mills' vision of the call for foreign mission-

¹⁷ *Cornell University Christian Association Bulletin*, May, 1886, p. 8.

¹⁸ C. K. Ober, *Luther D. Wishard*, p. 91.

ary service. This group had met in Robert Wilder's home in Princeton with Robert and his sister, Grace, whose interests and prayers did much to strengthen the convictions and steady the purposes of the members of this group. Wishard finally overruled Wilder's objection by pointing out the tremendous opportunity that this first summer conference would afford for spreading the missionary cause.¹⁹ It staggers one's imagination to picture the significance to the religious and missionary life of the world of the persistence of both Wishard and Ober in securing the attendance of these two students from Cornell and Princeton to this first summer student conference.

In June Mr. and Mrs. Wishard took a hundred-mile tramp in the mountains of North Carolina in preparation for the strenuous month at Mt. Hermon. They arrived at "the little flag station of Mt. Hermon—combined depot and post office,"²⁰ on the evening of July 3, 1886, and were met by Ober, "who assured us of such an avalanche of students that we would probably have to overflow the haymows. The students began to pour in on Monday and kept it up on Tuesday. We assembled July 6th for our first meeting, just three months to a day after my eventful talk with Moody."²¹

With only a little bit more than two months in which to present the idea of this assembly to the colleges, the work of Wishard and Ober had resulted in bringing together two hundred and fifty students from ninety different colleges, representing twenty-six states and every section of the country. This response is even more remarkable when we remember that the first student conference met, not for a ten-day period, but for twenty-six days.

A large part of the work of securing delegates had to be done by mail. The delegates were brought together for a program that was not finally shaped until the beginning of the conference. The only adequate explanation for such a great response to this call for a summer student conference is to be found in the God-given

¹⁹ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 105.

²⁰ *The Springfield Republican*, August 2, 1886, p. 1.

²¹ L. D. Wishard, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

character of the idea and the confidence that students and professors across the country had in the Student Movement and the spiritual leadership of Luther Wishard and C. K. Ober in the colleges. Even Moody's name could not have brought together such a widely-representative group of students if there had not already been in the colleges an extremely vital student religious movement that was responsive to any new idea that seemed to give promise of greater personal and organizational power for the work of Christ among students.

At the time of the calling of the Mt. Hermon conference student Associations were found in all but four of the states of the union and reports came to the national office from 225 local Associations. This meant that in a period of less than nine years the movement had grown at least sixfold. Its power in the American colleges was far greater than any statistical figures could show.²²

With a movement and a leadership deeply intent on discovering God's will for the development of Christian ideals among students, it is not at all strange that in the Mt. Hermon experience, as at Louisville, the opportunity was again given for the spirit of God to speak through individuals and to work new miracles of spiritual regeneration in the lives of students and colleges.

The circular had called this student conference "a world summer school for Bible study." This designation both expressed Mr. Moody's central interest and the pivotal place that Bible study was coming to have in the life of the Student Young Men's Christian Associations in the country. The work done the summer before in preparing the college Bible study outlines was another evidence of this. Within a few months an edition of 15,000 copies of these Bible study outlines was completely exhausted.²³

The program of this first summer student conference began at eight o'clock in the morning with a "conversational" discussion of the problems involved in college Young Men's Christian Association work. This was under the leadership of Wishard and

²² *Y.M.C.A. Year Book*, 1886, Table No. V, pp. 144-152.

²³ *College Y.M.C.A. Souvenir of Summer School for Bible Study*, Mt. Hermon, Mass., 1886, p. 26.

Ober, with the help of successful local student leaders. Since the forming of the Intercollegiate Movement at Louisville this was the first real opportunity for unhurried discussion on a national basis of all of the problems of this growing Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement. It is doubtful whether any succeeding conference, except the assemblies for employed student Young Men's Christian Association secretaries of recent years, had such an opportunity for sharing experience and evolving new methods of work.

A platform meeting, beginning at ten o'clock and continuing for two hours, consisted of "addresses on fundamental scriptural truths" and asked "questions which were answered by Mr. Moody or the prominent Bible scholars whom he associated with him in the instruction."²⁴ Moody presided at all of these platform meetings and was the central figure of the conference. He was much sought after for personal talks and meetings with smaller groups.

A program of athletics was organized for the afternoon under the leadership of James B. Reynolds of Yale. The early evening hour was devoted to an outdoor sunset meeting on a hill top, since called "Round Top," overlooking the lovely Connecticut Valley. The informal addresses dealt with general biblical subjects or life work.²⁵ Stretching out before one at Round Top was a glorious panorama of rolling farm land, the broad sweep of the Connecticut River, and on the far-western skyline the Green Mountains of Vermont. In such a setting, at the sunset hour, it was not difficult to make life decisions.

A strong influence leading to the conception of the idea of the conference was the desire to consolidate and extend the missionary ideals of the Movement. Through the addresses of speakers, and a student gathering called the "Meeting of Ten Nations," a great missionary uprising took place at Mt. Hermon, leading later to the formation of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. This will be the subject of another chapter.

Said a newspaper reporter: "Mr. Moody evidently doesn't be-

²⁴ *The Springfield Republican*, August 2, 1886.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

lieve in programs and none has been arranged.”²⁶ In the opening meeting of this first student conference Mr. Moody said, “I have been asked for programs. I hate programs and I don’t have any. Then I can’t break over them. If you want to know what is ahead, we don’t know except that we will have a good time. We want to stir you up and get you in love with the Bible, and those of you who have a voice, in love with music. If I find you getting drowsy in this hot weather, I will just ask the speaker to stop and we will sing. Now about questions—our talks are going to be conversational. If you want to ask a question, speak out; that’s what we are here for, to get all the cobwebs swept away and go back to our college mates inspired with the truth.”²⁷

If one follows the plan of the succeeding conferences, one suspects that Mr. Moody did not detest programs quite so much as his statement would indicate. It is certainly true that, beginning with the 1887 conference, the daily program plans and provision for speakers were made very much in advance of the conference. That, however, is not out of harmony with the attitude underlying Mr. Moody’s statement, namely, determination to carry forward a program in which there would be the maximum amount of freedom of self-expression and a readiness completely to change any previously-outlined program plans if the developments of the conference made this necessary.

From the standpoint of the student conferences of recent years, Mr. Moody’s idea of combining voice culture with the rest of the conference program seems a bit amusing. It is quite understandable, however, in the light of Mr. Moody’s belief that the two main agencies for extending the gospel were preaching and singing. To this first conference Mr. Moody brought Professor Towner, who at eight o’clock each morning conducted a class in voice harmony. In commenting on this phase of the program *The Independent New York*, July 22nd, said that Professor Towner’s “rich, full, grand voice is an inspiration to all who hear him. Quite a number of students are availing themselves of this opportunity for training in vocal culture.”

²⁶ *The Springfield Republican*, August 2, 1886, p. 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

An excellent picture of Luther D. Wishard's leadership of this college conference is given in *The Springfield Republican*. One of the things which seemed to be the most impressive about this first student conference was its utter informality and the spirit of good-fellowship that dominated it. According to the newspaper report "this feeling of good-fellowship from the very start is greatly helped by the presence and general oversight of L. D. Wishard, College Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, to whom a large number of the boys are personally known. He is a thick-set man, a trifle near-sighted, quick in his conclusions, and energetic in action; and with those personal qualities of unostentatious good-fellowship that well fitted him for his special line of work. He lays aside the restraint of new acquaintanceship about as easily as he does the conventional costume of Broadway, assuming in both an easy style, half negligee, much better fitted for the summer; and the boys very sensibly do likewise." ²⁸

Mr. Moody was so amazed at the response of students to the call for this conference and so pleased with the results that he readily agreed to the holding of a second conference in July, 1887. This second conference met not at Mt. Hermon, but at Northfield. So significant in the life of the Student Movement are the traditions associated with Northfield that even in years when it has been necessary for the New England students to hold their conferences elsewhere they have been advertised as the "Northfield Student Conference." ²⁹ The term "Northfield" has come to be a word of sacred meaning to leaders in the work of the Church and of the Christian movements in every land because of the way in which the summer conferences have liberated for

²⁸ *The Springfield Republican*, August 2, 1886, p. 1.

²⁹ The Eastern Students' Conference met at Silver Bay 1920-25 inclusive; beginning 1926, two conferences were held, one for Middle Atlantic students at Eagles Mere and the other for New England students at Northfield. Conflicts of dates made it necessary to hold the Northfield Conferences in 1921-32 at Eaglebrook Lodge, Deerfield, Mass., and in 1933-34 at Camp Becker (Massachusetts State Y.M.C.A. Camp). Since 1923 the Northfield tradition has been enriched by the holding of the midwinter conferences there.

world service the spiritual insights and energies of the youth of the world.

The idea of the summer student conference has been the most creative, contagious, and kindling idea that has come out of the life of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association. It has spread not merely through all the student movements of the world but into many different sections of the life of the Christian Church and has become the pattern for the multitude of summer conferences for young people held under the auspices of the many branches of the Christian Church in every land in recent years. Neither the wildest nor the most prophetic dreamer among the Mt. Hermon delegates could have pictured to himself at that time the ultimate significance of the conference of which he was a part. For this idea the world is indebted to Luther Wishard. For making concrete the idea and guiding its growth the world will be eternally grateful to the unlettered American evangelist, Dwight L. Moody.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MT. HERMON HUNDRED

THE summer student conferences have always been great propagating centers for the evangelizing and missionary ideals of Christianity. It is for this reason that the student conferences have given birth to many Christian movements, both within and without the organized life of the Christian Church. One of the most significant of these movements came into being as the result of the spread of missionary interest and enthusiasm of the delegates at the Mt. Hermon Conference. The missionary uprising which took place during these days at Mt. Hermon led to the formation two years later of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions.

Before telling the story of this event, let us trace the steps that prepared the way for the missionary movement at Mt. Hermon. This awakening was the culminating event in a series of missionary developments in the life of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association, and it can be appreciated fully only when seen in its own historical setting.

The steps leading from the prayer and activity of the Williams haystack group and the formation in 1825 of the Philadelphian Society have been traced. We have also seen the connection between the Philadelphian Society and the birth of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement. The missionary awakening at Mt. Hermon cannot be explained apart from the missionary zeal and enthusiasm of this Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association, nor can it be adequately understood until one gets a deeper insight into the missionary outlook and passion of Luther D. Wishard, the first National College Secretary.

Had there been no Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian As-

sociation there would have been no Mt. Hermon Conference. Had the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association existed, but without leadership of missionary intelligence and enthusiasm, the probabilities are that any such intercollegiate missionary awakening as took place at Mt. Hermon would have been long delayed.

Many different forces converged to bring about the Mt. Hermon uprising. One significant although not a determining force, was the tradition handed on to the Student Young Men's Christian Associations by the Societies of Missionary Inquiry which preceded the Young Men's Christian Association. At the time of the Mt. Hermon Conference, most of these societies had been transformed into Student Young Men's Christian Associations, in which the missionary tradition was bound to persist for a long time. In the first year of his college secretaryship, when Luther Wishard heard Dr. Prentiss at Union tell the story of the Mills Band, there was aroused in him a passion for foreign missionary service that dominated the remainder of his life.¹ Only the conviction that, through the leadership of this new and growing Student Movement, he could render a service to the cause of foreign missions greater than was possible in any single foreign missions position, led him finally to regard the college secretaryship as God's call to him.

The rapid development of the missionary program following the creation of a missionary department at Baltimore, in 1879, was evidenced by the large amount of space given in *The College Bulletin* to missionary news and suggestions, as well as by many special missionary events and movements, such as the Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance and the medical students' missionary conferences.

Another incident during this first year of Wishard's leadership that profoundly influenced his missionary motive and conviction centers around his reading of a letter addressed to the Massachusetts Agricultural College Student Christian Union by a student society in Sapporo Agricultural College, Japan, called the "Believers in Jesus," in which these students expressed their desire

¹ *The College Bulletin*, March, 1879, p. 1.

for a closer union between themselves and students in America. These Japanese students hoped that "while we are working for Jesus in the Eastern side of the world, you will advance His Kingdom in the Western side."²

Although the Intercollegiate Movement was in its first year, and Wishard was giving only a part of his time to its leadership, nevertheless there was born in him, then and there, the desire both to make the American Movement missionary and to help multiply in colleges in mission lands student societies like this one at Sapporo, but with the benefits of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement.³ This purpose grew steadily until it became the dominating purpose of his life, leading him ten years later into his four years' journey through the missionary colleges of the world—a journey which helped prepare the way for the World's Student Christian Federation and which made inevitable the organization of the Foreign Department of the Young Men's Christian Association.

This growing purpose found immediate expression in his leadership of the Second National College Conference, held in conjunction with the International Convention at Baltimore, 1879. At Wishard's request President Mark Hopkins of Williams College came to this conference to share the story of the Mills group and to kindle missionary enthusiasm. As a result of "animated discussion," a "missionary department" was urged upon all Associations promoting missionary meetings and other activities.⁴ Four years later Wishard, in connection with a trip to Williams College to meet C. K. Ober, the student president of the Williams Association, realized his long-coveted ambition to see the "plain shaft of Berkshire marble" that had been erected in the midst of Mission Park as a memorial to the missionary vision of the Samuel Mills group.

Recalling "their daring, hell-defying motto" and remembering their heroic service Wishard "knelt upon the snowy carpet and

² *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

³ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 165-167.

⁴ Twenty-third International Convention, Y.M.C.A., Baltimore, 1879, p. 60.

for the first time in my life made an unreserved surrender to their great leader in a language, which for the first time, found solid utterance in my heart: 'I am willing to go anywhere, at any time, to do anything for Jesus.' From that "hill of solemn silence in that holy place" Wishard went out into his leadership of the college work an even more intelligent and determined missionary leader than he had been.⁵

Wishard spent the summer of 1883 with his friend, Rev. W. H. Marquist, in Fulton, Missouri, reading great missionary biographies. During this summer he says he first divulged to any one his purpose to extend his journeys "into missionary lands as an essential preparation for the highest efficiency in promoting foreign missionary devotion in the colleges."⁶

Two years later, at the Fifth National College Conference, held in conjunction with the International Convention at Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Marquist in a stirring address on the history of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association work made the following reference to the missionary purpose formed by Wishard during the summer of 1883 to extend the Movement on a world-wide basis: "Two years ago I found the ardent College Secretary mapping out his work on a broader scale designed to develop such an aggressive missionary spirit as will send forth the college boys no longer by tens, but by hundreds, it may be by thousands, to bear the lamp of life to earth's perishing millions. Already that spirit is moving in our colleges."⁷

As a result of the rapid growth of this conviction he gave even more vigorous missionary leadership to the American college work. It was this deepening determination to make his own and the Movement's leadership count for the cause of foreign missions that made him so responsive to the remarkable story of the Cambridge University Missionary Band that J. E. K. Studd told at the General Christian Workers' Convention at Northfield in the eventful summer of 1885. Wishard was determined to use

⁵ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 99-100.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁷ Twenty-sixth International Convention, Y.M.C.A., Atlanta, Georgia, 1885, p. 70.

Studd "to scatter the missionary fires kindled by that devoted band." ⁸ Studd's story of the missionary band in the colleges and his work in the state college conferences during the winter of 1885-86 did much to prepare the American colleges for the missionary awakening at Mt. Hermon.

Studd was a member of the class of '83, Cambridge, and as a leading student and captain of the university cricket team he had presided at Moody's meetings at Cambridge. Studd told "a thrilling story of the religious work at Cambridge and the great missionary movement in which it resulted." This story, "his manly Christian spirit, and his sympathy with college pursuits," quickly "won the hearts of students." ⁹

Most significant of all the events through which God was preparing the way for a student missionary awakening was the summer conference, the purpose of which, in Wishard's mind, "was to gather up, consolidate and perfect the missionary interest which the previous years of promotion had widened and deepened." ¹⁰ In planning the Mt. Hermon program no specific provision was made for missionary meetings. This was because of Moody's abhorrence "of a cut-and-dried program." Wishard and Ober had outlined a tentative draft of a program covering the topics which they hoped would be taken up during the conference—and in this program they had given a large place to missionary meetings. ¹¹

The many different lines of influence (suggested in this chapter) united to prepare the way for the missionary awakening at Mt. Hermon. They did not make it an inevitable event; they did, however, prepare the soil so that it was ready to respond quickly to the touch of a skilled cultivator. It was Robert Wilder, Princeton student, who really brought to a head the many developments that, under the spirit of God, had been converging toward some great missionary event for the colleges. He had been well pre-

⁸ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 103.

⁹ *The College Bulletin*, November, 1885, p. 6.

¹⁰ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 104.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

pared for his leadership at Mt. Hermon by his three years at Princeton.

The Fourth National Conference of the Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance was held at Hartford, Connecticut, October 25-28, 1883. College as well as seminary students were delegates at this conference. This was because some of the Alliance leaders believed their Movement should be extended to the colleges. It was the fear of a tangential movement—too narrowly limited to missionary interests—that led Wishard to send C. K. Ober to this conference as fraternal delegate, with instructions to acquaint the Alliance “with the fact of our organization” and its rapidly-growing missionary interest and program.¹²

To the Hartford conference there came also as representatives of the Philadelphian Society of Princeton College three seniors—Robert Wilder, and Messrs. Van Kirk and Langdon. At this conference Van Kirk conceived the idea that there should be “an organization of those who had definitely decided it was their duty to go to the foreign field, in order that they might encourage and enlighten one another, and do more effective and aggressive work on behalf of the cause.” On their return to Princeton these three students formed a “mission band” to which should belong students pledged for foreign service.¹³ In reaching this decision they were greatly aided by Wilder’s father—a veteran India missionary—who told them about the Mills group at Williams in 1808. The covenant adopted by this Princeton band was: “We, the undersigned, declare ourselves willing and desirous, God permitting, to go to the unevangelized portions of the world.”¹⁴

The object of the society was “the cultivation of the missionary spirit among the students of the college, the information of

¹² See Chapter XIII. Also Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students’ Era in Christian History*, pp. 49-50.

¹³ It should be noted that this idea of a pledged band of volunteers was at the heart of the Mills Society of Brethren and that in a number of colleges in the first half of the nineteenth century there were two student missionary societies—one a general society and the other a pledged band.

¹⁴ Robert P. Wilder, “The Perils and Privileges of Student Volunteer Movement,” in Report of the First International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement, Cleveland, Ohio, 1891, pp. 161-163.

its members in all subjects of missionary interest, and especially the leading of men to consecrate themselves to foreign mission work." ¹⁵ Meeting in Wilder's home and encouraged by the partnership and prayers of his sister, Grace, this little group grew in numbers and missionary conviction. Although a college organization, yet in its membership were "divinity men also." "Night after night" Wilder met with his sister Grace "to pray for a widespread missionary movement through the country, asking God to give us the privilege of helping in such a missionary revival." ¹⁶

It was during this time that the idea of the summer conference was growing in Wishard's mind with all of its religious and missionary possibilities. In April, 1886, Wishard came to Princeton to get delegates for Mt. Hermon. Wishard urged Wilder to go to Mt. Hermon for the purpose of quickening missionary enthusiasm among the delegates. Speaking years later of this conference, Wilder said: "Wishard knew of the group of volunteers who had been meeting at Princeton for two and a half years and he was insistent upon my coming. Mr. Wishard was greatly interested in foreign missions. The little group of Princeton volunteers was started by two men—we thought if we drew up a declaration of our purpose and challenged our fellow-students with it, more of them would volunteer for foreign missionary work . . . And while we were meeting together, a girl, a Mt. Holyoke graduate, was in another room in prayer. The Movement owes a great deal to her prayers and when Wishard asked me to attend the conference, this girl said to me: 'I think our prayers are going to be answered at Mt. Hermon and that Princeton beginnings will become intercollegiate up there.'" ¹⁷

The Mt. Hermon Conference had scarcely begun when, under Wilder's leadership, a group of nineteen students who, prior to the conference, had dedicated their lives to foreign missionary service, met to discuss the missionary opportunity presented by Mt. Hermon. This group of nineteen missionary volunteers

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *The Student Volunteer*, Dec., 1926, pp. 67-72.

formed a covenant to meet together daily for discussion of foreign missions and prayer that God through them might lead as many as one hundred of their fellow delegates to join them in a dedication of their lives to foreign missionary service. Day by day this group grew in numbers and missionary conviction. While they were in prayer on the closing day of the conference the one-hundredth volunteer joined them.

How they worked is best pictured in the words of the Cornell student whom Studd had won to the Christian life and whom Ober had induced to come to this first conference. To students at the 1893 Northfield Conference John R. Mott told this story:

"The first time I heard about missions down there half-way to the river a fellow began to talk to me on German philosophy, in which he had heard I was interested. Before long he wove in the subject of missions. I evaded it. He tactfully held me to it. That was Robert Wilder. To Wilder I trace the great interest in missions in the colleges more than to any other man; to his sister, more than to him, the spirituality and higher success of the Movement. Early in the conference he began to find out about the men who were interested in missions. Soon he handed in a notice, the reading of which surprised us, for all interested in missions to meet. Fourteen met. Soon there were twenty-one.

"They had the spirit of propagation. Probably Wilder himself did not secure more than eight or ten. They got one another. They multiplied. I suppose the most sacred ground here is that grove back of this hall. There probably is not a foot of ground that has not been prayed over. I never went into that grove but that there were men praying there in groups or alone. Men talked missions everywhere—running, tramping, eating. One parlor meeting, unannounced, was continued in prayer, the lights out, till midnight. Gradually this missionary group became the spiritual and missionary dynamic center of the conference."¹⁸

This missionary awakening colored the whole life of the conference. Although Moody was much interested in missions, and his evangelism had been a provoking cause for the Cambridge

¹⁸ *Young Men's Era*, 1892, p. 1298.

Missionary Band, yet he was not wholly convinced of the wisdom of the volunteer pledge. "It is a great pity," he said, "for young men to place themselves under a pledge to enter any form of Christian work before God calls them—and he never calls a man until he is ready."¹⁹

Some impression of the strength of this missionary movement may be gathered from a newspaper report: "The might and meaning of this missionary movement that has so stirred the students in this rarified and clarified atmosphere of Mt. Hermon is not appreciated. I doubt if any one has fitly appraised it. The case has been powerfully presented and undoubtedly the strongest argument has been, 'Why should you not go? The burden of proof rests on you.' Doubtless. But some cautious men felt as the number rose up that the defense had not had a full hearing, that some may be compelled by circumstances to reverse the decisions made by them on the mountain tops. Be that as it may, the number of steadfast will still be a surprise."²⁰

Gradually the foreign missions topic became the most absorbing theme of the conference. During their hours of leisure, groups of young men would stroll away to secluded retreats, where they would spend time in conversation and prayer for God's guidance of this missionary movement. A pentecostal experience of consecration and spiritual renewal fell upon scores of the conference delegates, having as its most prominent outward expression a spontaneous convergence of prayer and discussion upon the subject of foreign missions.

Toward the middle of the conference came a unique missionary meeting that later came to be called the "Meeting of Ten Nations." It was addressed by ten students, three of whom were sons of missionaries in China, India, and Persia, and seven of whom were young men of divers nationalities—"an Armenian, a Japanese, a Siamese, a Norwegian, a Dane, a German, and an American Indian. This meeting proved to be the spiritual high-water mark of the conference. The effect was indescribable. Men went from that meeting alone or in little groups for prolonged prayer

¹⁹ William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 358.

²⁰ *The Springfield Republican*, August 2, 1886, p. 6.

on the hillsides overlooking the river. It was a night of decision and destiny.”²¹

In the Mt. Hermon edition of *The Springfield Republican* the following reference is made to the effect on the conference of this “Meeting of Ten Nations”: “The missionary spirit is rampant among the students now, the interest is strong, various, and healthful. Rousing meetings have been the result, and these are taken up and carried on in an energetic businesslike way that is refreshing from men who happen to be fresh from lukewarm communities and churches and lifeless meetings. The leading of Mr. Wishard is nothing if not energetic; nothing if not inspiring. The young men readily answer to his call. He is joyous; missionary letters thrill him; the stirring meeting of last night was a pentecostal one to him—the contagion of his example is unavoidable; it permeates the air and many bright young men have strong attacks of enthusiasm in the work.”²²

Students who had as yet formed no purpose in life and others who were obliged to sacrifice definite plans, offered themselves freely for foreign missionary service. The group of missionary volunteers grew with great rapidity. The whole conference was shaken from center to circumference with this new-found missionary intelligence and enthusiasm.

The hope of Wishard and Ober and of Robert Wilder and his sister, Grace—that Mt. Hermon might be a great missionary conference—was being realized in a way far beyond their fondest dreams when on the final day of the conference this “band of students whose hearts God had touched” were in the midst of their closing fellowship of prayer there came into their meeting the one-hundredth volunteer. But the nation-wide missionary awakening that was to result from the labors of the band of nineteen at Mt. Hermon was an even more profound and significant answer to their prayers than was the realization that one hundred of their fellow students at Mt. Hermon might join them in the dedication of life to foreign missionary service.

²¹ *Young Men's Era*, 1892, p. 1298.

²² *The Springfield Republican*, August 2, 1886, p. 5.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MISSIONARY DEPUTATION AND THE STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT

PRIOR to the final meeting of the Mt. Hermon missionary volunteers there had been much discussion of ways and means of sharing with students across the country the missionary convictions that had come to them during the days at Mt. Hermon. Many different plans had been proposed. A small group felt that the only way to conserve and extend the movement begun at Mt. Hermon was through an intercollegiate missionary movement similar to the Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance. Robert Mateer and some of his fellow organizers in the Alliance had, in the first days of that movement, pictured the possibility of including college students. Wishard had dissuaded the extension of the Alliance into the colleges on the ground that the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association would thereby be robbed of its developing foreign missionary program.¹ To the advocates of separate organization at Mt. Hermon Wishard and Ober again pointed out the bad effect that this would have on the missionary program of the Student Associations and strongly urged that the rapid growth in power and influence of the Student Movement made possible a much wider extension of the Mt. Hermon missionary interest if this new movement remained an integral part of the Student Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations.

While the Mt. Hermon group was discussing this problem of kindling fires of missionary enthusiasm and dedication among college students of America, women students were on their way to the conference at Lake Geneva, where they were to organize the

¹ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 49-50.

National Intercollegiate Young Women's Christian Association.² Since the missionary enterprise of the Church was equally a call upon men and women students, no plan for the extension of the Mt. Hermon missionary uprising to the colleges could be adequate that did not take into account these Student Young Women's Christian Associations.

There had been no more enthusiastic member of the Mt. Hermon missionary band than Charles K. Ober, Wishard's new associate for the work in the colleges. Said the Mt. Hermon *Souvenir*, published by enterprising delegates at the close of the conference: "Mr. Ober cherished the purpose of devoting his life to foreign missions and was influenced to enter upon his present work by the feeling that his missionary zeal would enable him to infuse a spirit of missions into the colleges."³

It was Ober who first conceived the idea of making up a team of Mt. Hermon volunteers to tell the story of the missionary awakening, just as the "Cambridge Seven" had done a few years before among the students of Great Britain. This idea, first "broached in a stroll and prayed over in a blueberry patch" by Dr. Pierson, Messrs. Ober, Mott, Wilder, and Tewkesbury, soon caught fire among the missionary volunteers.⁴

The day following the "broaching of this idea" a reporter said: "The fellows have decided to make up a missionary band of a half-dozen from their numbers who will, during the college year, make a tour of the colleges to stir up interest in missions . . . The whole Movement is organized under the management of the missionary committee of the college Christian Associations."⁵

A few days later *The Springfield Republican* reported that "the missionary band has been made up easily, for the men who are to compose it seem especially pointed for their fitness and devotion to the cause. They are R. P. Wilder of Princeton, 1886; John R. Mott of Cornell University, 1888; William P. Taylor of Yale, 1887; L. M. Riley of De Pauw, 1889 (a college in

² See Chapter XII.

³ *The College Y.M.C.A. Souvenir*, Mt. Hermon, 1886, p. 11.

⁴ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 121.

⁵ *The Springfield Republican*, August 2, 1886, p. 7.

Indiana); and (if it is possible to make arrangements), an earnest young Japanese now studying at the Worcester Technological Institute in the class of 1888, Kotaro N. Shimo-Mura. The thought of having the band has arisen like inspiration since Thursday and the plans are not yet crystallized. They will move from college to college to rouse up an interest in missions. . . .

"This missionary movement that has begun here is a marvelous one . . . quietly without force, as I can see, the mission spirit has spread throughout the whole part. 'I am impressed above all things by the quiet sober determination of the men,' said one of their most intimate advisers to me."⁶

The only obstacle that remained was that of money. Wishard believed that he saw a way around that difficulty. He sent a wire to D. W. McWilliams of New York City, who, as a lay leader, had for several years "followed the Student Movement with prayerful interest and financial support." The wire asked the privilege of interviewing Mr. McWilliams in New York on an important matter. Mr. McWilliams responded by saying that he would come to Mt. Hermon at once. Ober and Wishard scarcely had a chance to finish the telling of the story of this missionary uprising to Mr. McWilliams when he interrupted with the words, "This is God's work," and of his own accord asked the privilege of financing the expenses of the proposed missionary deputation.⁷

So the Mt. Hermon Conference adjourned, having been the center of a "pentecostal offering of lives" for foreign missionary service and having been led of God to a plan for sharing with students of the country this great experience. Again "a band of youths whose hearts God had touched" responded with their lives to the call of the "still, small voice," and prepared the way for a great new epoch in the intercollegiate religious life of American students.

Shortly before the opening of college in the autumn of 1886, Wishard and Ober, who were held responsible by the Mt. Hermon group for directing the activities of the intercollegiate mis-

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 95.

sionary deputation, received word from three of the team members that for differing but equally uncontrollable reasons it was impossible for them to devote the college year to the work of the missionary deputation. This startling and tragic news made it look for a time as though the great enterprise into which the group seemed to have been so clearly led by the spirit of God was destined to collapse.⁸

This seemed all the more certain when their talk with Robert Wilder made it look as though he, too, might have to give up the plan because of very serious family illness. The prayers and work of Robert's sister, Grace, together with the heroic insistence of Robert Wilder's father, brought victory and Wilder agreed to make the trip, even alone, if need be.⁹ It was agreed, however, that if possible some companion should be selected for this trip. The three felt clearly guided by God to ask John N. Forman, a son of missionary parents "who carried missionary fervor in his veins," and a Princeton classmate of Wilder's, to join Wilder in telling the Mt. Hermon story to the colleges. Forman's personality, his missionary passion, his gifts for public and personal work with students, seemed to fit him preëminently for this work, even though Forman had not been one of the Mt. Hermon group. A night of thought and prayer decided the matter and, with the opening of the college year, Wilder and Forman began the first great intercollegiate missionary deputation to the American colleges.¹⁰

Robert Wilder's vital experience of God and his burning, contagious, missionary passion lighted into a great conflagration the many fires of missionary interest and activity that had been kindled during the previous decade under the leadership of Wishard and the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement. These two college students, telling the Mt. Hermon story, blazed a new trail of missionary intelligence, enthu-

⁸ John R. Mott, *The History of the Student Volunteer Movement* (1892), p. 12.

⁹ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 122.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

siasm, conviction, and life dedication through the length and breadth of the American college world. "They went from college to college presenting the claims of the shadowed world" and the duty of the rising generation with a "force, a pungency, and an urgency which indicated the presence with them of the spirit of God." Students by the score asked for the privilege of joining the Mt. Hermon Band in their complete dedication of life to the spread of the knowledge of the living Christ to the uttermost parts of the world.¹¹

More than 1,500 men and women students volunteered for foreign missionary service during the college year 1886-87. By the time the 450 delegates assembled, on June 15, 1887, for the second college Student Summer School at Northfield, the number of volunteers had increased to more than 2,100—1,600 men and 500 women—all of whom were "pledged to become heralds of the cross in any clime under the sun."¹²

The story of the Mt. Hermon missionary uprising and the amazing response of students across the country to the appeal for dedication of life wrought a revival of missionary interest among the ministers and lay leaders of the church such as had not been experienced in many years. President McCosh of Princeton, commenting on the duty of the Christian Church in America in the light of this great offering of life, said: "Has any such offering of living men and women been presented in our age? Or in any age or in any country since the day of Pentecost?"¹³ President Seelye of Amherst spoke "of the present missionary movement among our young men" as being "of larger proportions than anything of the kind in modern times."¹⁴

Many men and women who could not give their lives to foreign missionary service made sacrificial gifts of money for the sending of these young men and women to mission lands. The first gifts for the extension of the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in foreign countries came as a result of

¹¹ *College of Colleges*, 1887, p. 18.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹³ *The Intercollegian*, May, 1887, p. 22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

the work of these two flaming student missionary evangelists. They were made by a group of young Minneapolis business men to whom Wilder in the course of his travels made a "your-money-or-your-life" speech. This fund of \$1,000 was set aside for the support of the first foreign secretary whom the North American Associations should send out.

A call from the government of Japan made possible the sending, in January, 1888, of John Trumbull Swift of Yale as the first of a group of teachers of English who were profoundly to influence the development of the Movement in Japan. So successful was Swift that within a year friends in America were found to support him so that he could give all his time to Association work. In the autumn of 1889 Swift returned to this country to report on his work and plead for the permanent establishment of foreign work.¹⁵

The first gifts were quickly followed by funds raised by groups of young men in the city Associations of St. Paul, New York, and Pittsburgh, and the foreign work policy was established, thus making possible the sending, in 1889, of David McConaughy to India and of Swift to Japan as the first officially-commissioned representatives of the Young Men's Christian Association in foreign mission lands.¹⁶

When this first year's missionary deputation of Wilder and Forman was ended, the following-up of the newly-awakened missionary interest was left to the leadership of the college secretaries, Wishard and Ober. The visits of Wilder and Forman to the colleges were made as special agents of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association, just as Studd's visits had been. The purpose of the deputation had been to spread the Mt. Hermon missionary enthusiasm through the colleges and to quicken the missionary activities of the college Associations; there had been no thought of a new organization for missions, either within or without the college Young Men's Christian Association.

No missionary deputation was sent to the colleges during the

¹⁵ Richard C. Morse, *My Life with Young Men*, pp. 365-369.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 364-365.

year 1887-88. "During the second year (1887-88) the Movement was left to itself. The volunteers themselves by personal work swelled their number to nearly three thousand."¹⁷ The developments during that year, however, made it quite clear that a real conflagration of passion was extending through the colleges and that, unless wisely guided, it might do harm both to the missionary cause and the Student Movement's missionary message.

Among the more than two thousand students who volunteered for foreign missions during the first year, there were many who could never hope to go to the mission field. The enthusiasm associated with this "year of infuriation" caused many academy and high school students to sign the declaration used by the Mt. Hermon Missionary Band. Although among the two thousand who did volunteer there were scores and probably hundreds of the ablest men and women students in the country, the processes followed during the first year also made it easy for hundreds of students who had not thought through all that was involved in missionary service to declare that it was their purpose, God willing, to put their lives into foreign missionary service.

It had also become quite clear that, unless some able national leadership were quickly given, a number of the local groups of volunteers were likely to form separate student missionary organizations, thus defeating the purposes of the Mt. Hermon Band and the larger missionary possibilities of this work as an integral part of the Intercollegiate Movement. "There was a tendency in the Movement at some points to lose its unity. All sorts of missionary societies and bands, with different purposes, methods of work, and forms of constitution were springing up. It was plain that it would lose much of its power should its unity be destroyed."¹⁸

A report in *The Intercollegian* of discussions that had taken place at a good many college conferences during the winter of 1887 and early months of 1888 rather summarizes the conviction held by Student Movement leaders regarding this problem: "It was the prevailing sentiment at every conference that the mis-

¹⁷ John R. Mott, *History of the Student Volunteer Movement*, p. 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

sionary work be continued by the Association and that the men who have united with mission bands compose the missionary committee of the Association, and thus avoid becoming a distinct missionary organization. In this way will the Association continue and become more and more permeated with the missionary spirit. The thorough development of the missionary idea *within* the Association is absolutely necessary, if this Association becomes world-wide, as it now promises to be."¹⁹

The bearing that this development had on the second summer conference, Northfield, 1887, is of interest. The missionary awakening at Mt. Hermon, together with the great offering of life for missionary service that followed in the trail of Wilder and Forman's visit to the colleges, apparently led many people to believe that the sole purpose of the summer student conference was to secure recruits for foreign missionary service. This point of view is reflected in the report of the first day of this second summer student conference. *The Springfield Union* reporter "called on Mr. Wishard to find out the exact purpose of the meeting and to question him in regard to certain recent rumors occasioned by the great missionary movements of the past year." Mr. Wishard said on these points, "The great purpose of these summer schools is to familiarize students with the practical study of the Bible in order to teach them how to use the Bible with unconverted men so as to impress them with the claims of Christ. A report has been circulated that Mr. Moody has one hundred students pledged to be missionaries here. That is not true. We had a missionary revival last year, and as a result of that movement 2,100 students, 1,600 of them young men, signified in writing their willingness to be missionaries, but the movement was spontaneous and so it will be this year if there is one."²⁰

The feeling of Wishard and other student Young Men's Christian Association leaders with regard to the danger involved in this new movement was quite clearly reflected in the Association methods conducted under Wishard's leadership on the morning

¹⁹ *The Intercollegian*, March, 1888, p. 29.

²⁰ *The Springfield Union*, July 2, 1887.

of July 5th, of this second student conference. In reporting this discussion a newspaper said:

"The meeting for Young Men's Christian Association workers this morning at 8:30 was devoted to the importance of concentrating all the students' Christian work of the college into one organization. Mr. Wishard said: 'If we can do anything here to develop the missionary spirit, it must be to concentrate that missionary spirit within the organization in which it started eight years ago. Last year eighty colleges reported that they supported a missionary meeting with an average attendance of thirty-four. It was expected that a much larger number of colleges would report this year as a result of Messrs. Forman and Wilder in their tour last winter, but only sixty-eight colleges have reported meetings and the average attendance is but thirty-three. I am afraid the cause is that in some colleges there is a tendency to swing the missionary work outside the Young Men's Christian Association. They fail as do the Bible training classes who spread themselves outside the Young Men's Christian Association to multiply their numbers as they might.'" ²¹

It was this situation which led a group of fifty volunteers who gathered at the third student conference at Northfield in the summer of 1888 to consider the problem of requesting Robert Wilder to forego his plans for the college year 1888-89 in order to start on another missionary deputation to the colleges. He was charged with responsibility for conserving the missionary interest already developed and of closely integrating the groups of volunteers with the work of the Christian Associations on all the campuses. That the situation was extremely critical for the missionary cause and for the Intercollegiate Movement, the contemporary evidence makes abundantly clear. It was like the crisis faced in relation to the Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance, but much more dangerous because the Intercollegiate Movement had sponsored it and because it already possessed a great hold on the emotional life of the missionary-minded leaders of the Church. But, in the judgment of the small group of students who had most strongly sponsored its beginnings, these tendencies were

²¹ *Ibid.*, July 7, 1887.

decidedly out of harmony with the original purposes of the Movement "and in the long run would destroy its usefulness, bringing back into the colleges missionary societies quite unrelated to the general work of Christian culture, evangelism, and service." ²²

Before Wilder started on this second missionary journey the question of the relation of this new missionary uprising to the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association was settled by the adoption of a plan conceived and drawn up by Mr. Ober calling for the organization of a Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions which would be so related to the Student Movement as really to be its missionary department. "To Mr. C. K. Ober is due in large measure the credit of safely passing the crisis. As chairman of a committee appointed by the volunteers at Northfield he suggested the flexible yet comprehensive scheme of organization under which the Movement has since been working. Had the counsels of some prevailed, in all human probability the Movement would have disintegrated." ²³

The details of the plan adopted were as follows:

"At Northfield last summer the representatives of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions appointed a committee to devise a plan for conserving and developing this important movement. The plan which this committee has matured recognizes the fact that the Student Volunteer Movement is confined almost entirely to persons in the College Young Men's Christian Associations, the College Young Women's Christian Associations, and the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance. It is also based upon the wise principle that these three organizations afford ample scope for the movement and that no new missionary organization is necessary. It provides, therefore, for an executive committee of three—one from each of the student organizations above—which shall unify the movement and facilitate its growth. The plan having met with the approval of these three organizations, the first-named has appointed Mr. John R. Mott, and the second

²² John R. Mott, *History of the Student Volunteer Movement*, 1892, pp.

14-15.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

has appointed its National Secretary, Miss Nettie Dunn, to be members of the committee. The third member will soon be named by the Executive Committee of the Inter-Seminary Alliance."

Robert Wilder represented the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance on this executive committee.²⁴

Thus Mr. Wilder on this second missionary deputation to the colleges traveled as the first secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. The manner of organization and control of the Student Volunteer Movement made unmistakably clear the determination of students, professors, and leaders of the Student Movement so to conserve and develop the Mt. Hermon missionary uprising as to keep at the center of the whole American Student Movement a great foreign missionary program.

The steps leading to the calling of Wilder and the formation of the Student Volunteer Movement, taken in the spring and summer of 1888, were tributes to the leadership of C. K. Ober, who was serving as senior College Secretary during Wishard's absence in Europe, where he was getting delegates for the 1888 Northfield Conference and discussing with representatives of the World's Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association his long-projected tour among the colleges of mission lands. He hoped to make this trip under the auspices of the World's Committee. The time now seemed ripe for Wishard to realize this dream, which for nearly a decade had so powerfully influenced his leadership among American college students. In C. K. Ober he had an able associate to whom he could safely entrust the leadership of the college work of America.

The rare generalship displayed by Ober in securing during Wishard's visit to Europe the consent of John R. Mott, president of the Cornell Association, to serve with him as College Secretary "for one year only" is the subject of another chapter. Here it is important to notice that the beginning of Mott's service with college students coincided with the time of the official beginnings of the Student Volunteer Movement. Because of his

²⁴ *The Intercollegian*, May, 1889, p. 10.

missionary interest Mott was asked by the Student Committee to be its representative in all of the relationships with this new missionary development. It was the committee's desire that Mott should show how this missionary work could better be "carried forward as a department of the College Association than through some new and additional student organizations, such as had been discussed."

Wilder's visits to the colleges in 1888-89 were, therefore, carried under the direction of Mott as chairman of the new Executive Committee that united the Christian Associations and the Missionary Alliance in the work of the Student Volunteer Movement. That Wilder was abundantly successful in achieving the objects of his visits to the colleges as the first Student Volunteer Movement Secretary is made clear by many references to this year's work in the reports of Mr. Ober, Mr. Mott, and in the "Volunteer News Notes" which appeared monthly in the columns of *The Intercollegian*.

Mr. Ober reported that the tendency to organize separate missionary societies had "given place to a recognition that these interests are fully provided for within the college Association with its missionary committee, missionary meeting, and abundant opportunity for special meetings of the missionary volunteers. The missionary department stands on a stronger footing than ever before. The visits of Wilder have imparted new stimulus and introduced new methods of extending and preserving missionary interests in the college Associations. The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions has become a much better-organized department of the college Association work."²⁵

While Mr. Wilder was making this trip as the first secretary for the Student Volunteer Movement, John Forman, his associate in the first missionary deputation, was kindling fires of missionary enthusiasm among the students of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Oxford, Cambridge, Belfast, and London. Mr. Forman made these visits to the colleges in Great Britain on his way to his field for missionary service in India. Mr. McWilliams, who had provided the funds for the intercollegiate missionary deputation, financed

²⁵ *The Intercollegian*, May, 1889, p. 5.

the first year's work of Mr. Wilder as the traveling secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement and assisted also in financing these visits of Mr. Forman to the British universities.

The permanent organization of the Student Volunteer Movement, as a specialized missionary department of the Student Movement, together with the remarkable results of Mr. Wilder's college visits during 1888-89, settled the question of the close integration of the Student Volunteer Movement and the Christian Associations. Locally, the volunteers worked through the missionary committees of the two Christian Associations in all campus-wide missionary education and recruiting. At the same time they were free, as local bands, to have meetings for their personal development and for spiritual and missionary fellowship. Mr. Mott was made chairman of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, a position which he had until 1920. Thus Mr. Mott in his person visualized the idea of a united student movement. Under his leadership more than 11,000 student volunteers went from the colleges into the mission fields.

This close integration of the Student Volunteer Movement with the Christian Associations gave the summer student conferences a challenging foreign missionary emphasis. In the early nineties this interest was greatly deepened when the Student Volunteer Movement, under Mr. Mott, added to its staff an educational secretary to give expert leadership in the field of missionary education to the Christian Associations. In the autumn of 1889 Robert E. Speer succeeded Mr. Wilder and continued for several years as the second traveling secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement. From that day to the present there has been a succession of able traveling secretaries.

With the successful carrying through of the first of the great series of quadrennial conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement in Cleveland in 1891, the future of the Movement was fixed. From 1888 until the close of the World War the Student Volunteer Movement was recognized generally as expressing the united missionary conviction of the Student Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations; it was related to foreign mission boards as a recruiting agency, but primarily it

served to stimulate missionary education and recruiting among students. Thus it made available a competent body of missionaries to the missionary boards of the various churches, and an intelligent lay leadership for the missionary work of the home churches. In the closing chapter reference will be made to some of the factors in the religious and missionary situation, 1920-1934, which have operated to change this relationship.

CHAPTER XVIII

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

THE most striking feature of the second summer student conference, Northfield, 1887, was the presence at the conference of Professor Henry Drummond, whom Mr. Moody had brought from Edinburgh at the urgent request of Mr. Ober and Mr. Wishard. The great friendship between Moody and Drummond was all the more remarkable because Drummond was extremely liberal theologically, whereas Moody, because of his background, tended toward a conservative theology and found much of his support from people who were fearful of changes in theological thinking. George Adam Smith says that Moody's great mission in Great Britain in 1872-75 made Drummond "the man he was in his prime, in his expertness in dealing with men, in his power as a speaker, nay, even in some principles of his faith. He is inexplicable without it."¹

Just prior to this 1887 conference Drummond had written his *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, which had made him known among intellectual people around the world as a great prophetic reconciler of science and religion. The sale of his book ran into the tens of thousands and it was translated into many languages. Drummond in his writing, speaking, and personal relationships, insisted that religion to be effective must be natural. By his own simplicity and the transparent genuineness of his religious life Drummond demonstrated to the world the truth of his proposition. In an amazing way he combined capacity for kindling personal religious leadership and clear statement in simple terms of the essentials of Christianity, with the gifts of a great scientist who insists on testing the validity of all that claims to be true.

In reporting the arrival of various conference speakers, a newspaper made the following comment:

¹ George Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 14.

"The central figure of the school will be Professor Henry Drummond of Glasgow, who was the leader in the Edinburgh Revival, the most remarkable college revival in history. He is better known here, however, as the author of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, a book which has attained a circulation of 100,000 in this country, 30,000 more than it did in Scotland itself. The exact subjects of Professor Drummond's addresses of which he will deliver five or six are not known, but they will be in the line of the harmony of science and religion. As he occupies the chair of biology in the free church college of Edinburgh, he will have to return to Scotland at the beginning of the college year.

"Personally Professor Drummond is very pleasant, and this impression is confirmed on further acquaintance. You see before you, instead of the rather oldish, careworn college professor whom you expected to meet, a pleasant young man with a reddish mustache and sandy side whiskers, dressed in a light suit of clothes, who hardly looks his thirty-seven years and gains your admiration at once. He calls the boys 'fellows' and is in the best sense, one of them."²

Drummond came to Northfield fresh from his intensive campaign to influence the religious thinking and living of the students of Edinburgh through his students' religious movement. It is hard to overestimate the power and significance of the work that Drummond had been doing through his meetings, personal talks with students, and the work of the "Holiday Missioners." Of this work George Adam Smith says: "One who heard Drummond through several years of the students' movement said there was one power which distinguished him beyond every other preacher to men, and that was the power of so speaking as invariably to move from one hundred to two hundred of his audience of seven or eight hundred—not merely to stay to an after meeting, but to talk with him one by one and face to face. This power never failed him with the students and it was by it he left an abiding mark on hundreds of lives."³

In refusing one of hundreds of invitations which came to him for similar work in other parts of Great Britain, he said: "The

² *The Springfield Union*, July 1, 1887.

³ George Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 358.

students' work takes up all my time and I have to refuse all outside engagements—the work is still very wide and deep—it goes on with unabated interest—I think the impression deepens as the term draws to a close.”⁴

How profoundly this work affected students may be guessed from the following appreciation: “In Professor Drummond we have found, or rather God has sent us, the man best adapted to draw students to a meeting and to preach the Gospel to them there. His present scientific popularity made them curious to see him; his youthful face and unconventional, almost boyish manner, won their good will; and his simple striking way of lifting up Christ, apart from any thought-distracting consideration about Him, such as the naming of repentance, faith, etc.”⁵

Drummond's big concern was to help students see that life and religion are one and the same; he then sought to put them to work, through personal relationships and social service, spreading their own Christian experience. It was this feeling with regard to the peculiar power of students in work with their fellow-students that led him frequently to absent himself from the meeting of students in order that they might carry forward the enterprise as their own. It also led him to the idea of the “Holiday Missions.”

The “Holiday Missions” were like the evangelistic deputations that have been carried on in different form throughout most of the history of the American Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association work. Five or six Christian students would make up a team and spend a vacation period in some community, conducting evangelistic meetings and getting into close personal relations with the young people of the community. Drummond wanted the orators to stay at home. His great concern was to have the team made up of men of a religious experience so vital that within each was an attitude of “woe is me if I do not share it.”

The remarkable response of Edinburgh students to this “Holi-

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

⁵ *The London Christian*, Feb. 19, 1885, quoted in *The College Bulletin*, March, 1885, p. 20.

day Mission" idea was the deciding factor in Drummond's decision to accept Moody's invitation to speak at Northfield in 1887, and to spend a few weeks in the early autumn visiting American colleges. When the American public learned that Professor Henry Drummond was to visit America for the Northfield addresses, Drummond received an avalanche of invitations from scientific societies and religious bodies for addresses and conferences. He spoke of his mail bag as being "something dreadful." He said that the invitations represented engagements that would have occupied more than two years of his time. He refused most of these invitations, accepting only a few for scientific addresses between the close of the Northfield Conference and the opening of the American colleges.

Soon after his arrival at Northfield Drummond wrote to a friend giving the following impressions of Northfield at the opening hours of the 1887 conference: "I have refused all other requests and am plodding along at Moody's with lots to do and lots to enjoy. The hardest thing is the heat. Northfield is like Crieff without the high mountains, but with a bigger river and more timber. It is very beautiful and Moody is as grand as ever. To see him at home is a sight. He is simply a farmer, running messages, going for cream and beefsteak for dinner, etc. Hundreds of students have come; many in tents all over the place."⁶

At Northfield Drummond gave his matchless address on the thirteenth chapter of I Corinthians, enthroning "love as the greatest thing in the world." Drummond was kept busy day and night with personal conferences and group meetings. The colleges struggled with one another to get the privilege of a visit from Drummond during the few weeks that he had agreed to give to the American colleges in the early autumn.

Professor Drummond's freedom from theological terminology, together with his simple insistence on the power of Christ to transform a man, was vividly reflected in all his addresses. This sort of talking was so different from the kind of preaching to which these students were accustomed and to some of the more theological talking that was done in other parts of this confer-

⁶ George Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 371.

ence program, that it is not strange that this second conference was so immovably centered in Drummond and his interpretation of a Christlike God. Near the close of the conference Drummond was persuaded to tell the story of the work among the Edinburgh University students. The following is quoted from a newspaper report of this address:

"I hope the outcome of this meeting will be a determination to evangelize the colleges—your life will never pay you better than while you are at college; there is no such field in the world. Edinburgh, he said, had a university of 4,000 students. Three years ago Messrs. Studd and Stanley Smith, prominent athletic men of Cambridge, who had decided to go as missionaries to China, came to Edinburgh and asked the athletic men to greet them to say good-bye. They turned out in great numbers and some of the university Christians saw the influence that was working.

"They hired a popular hall for the term and went to work and before the term was out, had it full at every meeting. We allow no cant—there is nothing a student hates so much as cant. There was no interference with speculation. We respected honest doubt in every direction. We had no creed. We tried to hold every man in the fellowship of Christ, and then left him to settle or leave unsettled his doubts. Our gospel was 'Save your lives,' not 'Save your souls,' and the first aim was to lead every man to become the friend of Christ and the active subject and member of Christ's Kingdom—" ⁷

Professor Drummond said that during the first year 150 students had gone out in deputations of six, visiting every county in Scotland. Similar visits had been made to some of the Welsh colleges. The benefit both to these communities and the men who went on the deputations was very great. This work had stimulated another experiment on the part of a half-dozen students who had gone to live among the city's poor to spread the influence of the gospel and who "have had remarkable results in the eight months since their undertaking was started." ⁸ This, of course, was the beginning of the university settlement movement

⁷ *The Springfield Union*, July 7, 1887.

⁸ *Ibid.*

to which Drummond and his fellow students gave much leadership during the succeeding years. Professor Drummond had the same horror of organization that Moody had of programs. In answer to questions he stressed many times the fact that the Edinburgh group had no very definite organization: "We have formed no Association, because it makes outsiders shy of entering."⁹

Six years later (1893) Professor Drummond was again at Northfield and there stated a problem which since has become an outstanding one with students in all lands: "Another kind of men we find at our universities are those who have been caught by the social wave which is passing over the country. There should be, therefore, in the Association a department of Christian socialism or applied Christianity. Make the Association so wide without sacrificing its true purpose that it may take in all the men in the universities who are loyal to Jesus Christ. It is time for us to consider how rigid these lines shall be. Often the men who are kept out are the best men and this ought not to be so. Christianity should have the best of everything."¹⁰

Drummond's time in the American colleges was so brief that he had to limit his visits to a few of the larger eastern universities. He had been in this country only a few days when he decided that his work would be more effective if he could be accompanied by two or three of the students and professors who were closely associated with him in the Edinburgh Student Movement. These men came to America in response to Drummond's invitation and in the early autumn he speaks of his "band of gorillas" as being divided and that they had every night booked with college meetings up to the hour of their sailing.

Drummond gave three days to meetings at Williams College. During the second day one of the ablest students interrupted one of Drummond's addresses to say: "I want to tell you fellows that I have been thinking it is about time I changed my life and from this time forward I am resolved to follow Christianity."¹¹ The effect of this declaration was electric on the entire student

⁹ *The Springfield Union*, July 7, 1887.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, July 10, 1893.

¹¹ George Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 378.

body. Said Drummond: "All next day we were busy dealing with the wounded."¹² At Dartmouth the college suspended all classes for Drummond's meetings. In the student report of this meeting, the writer says: "Professor Drummond is surely a wonderful man; he makes young men his friends wherever he goes."¹³ While at Dartmouth Drummond wrote home with regard to the excellent work that had been done by C. K. Ober, the Associate National College Secretary "who has been stirring up all the colleges by letter about our campaign." Not only had he stirred the colleges by letter; he had visited in advance of Drummond's coming most of the colleges to be visited by Drummond in order to make possible the most effective use of the latter's time. Drummond refers to the "National College Y Secretary as giving up his entire time to us for the next two months."¹⁴

At Princeton Drummond was the personal guest of President McCosh—"grand old Scotchman"—and was kept busy with student meetings from early morning to late night. At Princeton, as at the other colleges, Drummond was not satisfied just with meetings and with personal talks. His real desire was to stir students up to do something for their fellow students and the neighboring communities, so that he took pains to organize deputations at once on the basis of his holiday missionaries.¹⁵

The Yale Northfield delegation had prepared very carefully for Drummond's visit to Yale. Drummond spent what he describes as "one of the best and busiest weeks of my life at Yale," but, he says, "without even a moment to tell my tale—I write in the Yale graveyard—the only uninhabited spot I can find." He reported that he was having "great meetings at night and talks and walks all day long. We have got," he said, "at the heart and brain of this college."¹⁶

A *Yale News* editorial of October 3, 1887, said:

"In expressing the highest appreciation of the efforts and purposes of Professor Drummond and his associate Dr. Smith, we

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 378.

¹³ *The Dartmouth*, Sept. 23, 1887, p. 14.

¹⁴ George Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 378.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

voice the sentiment of the whole University. But the two crowded meetings yesterday in Dwight Hall manifest much plainer the high esteem in which Professor Drummond is held. He appeals directly to the reason of his hearers and not to their feelings, a method which commends itself to all thoughtful people."

On October 6 the *News* said:

"Professor Drummond will hold the last of his series of meetings in Dwight Hall this evening. That his meetings have been appreciated is shown by the numbers which have attended. The religion he preaches is liberal and he appeals to the reason. He is a celebrated writer and an interesting speaker, and is thoroughly appreciated by students. Those who have not already heard him, as well as those who have, should not miss this last opportunity."

While at Yale Drummond wrote to a friend: "The students at the larger colleges are a remarkably fine set of men. The Princeton, Amherst, and Yale men are quite the equal of the English undergraduate. The best are equal to the best of our men in brain power and scholarship."¹⁷ One of the engagements made for him was at Wellesley, where he was quite impressed with the fact that "I was the sole male among six hundred girl undergraduates, so you can imagine the terror of the first meetings I had."¹⁸

He had been somewhat doubtful about the possibility of effective work at Harvard. He had been told that Harvard was under Unitarian auspices and that it would be impossible to do anything there, but "the work was really better than anywhere. I lived with one of the professors, a Unitarian, but I found no difference between him and myself and I never saw a more lovely Christian home. I came away with a new idea of the Unitarians, at least some of them." This tribute to Professor Francis Greenwood Peabody, whose prophetic work in the field of the social implications of Jesus' teaching has been so helpful, was gracious and well deserved.¹⁹

¹⁷ George Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 380.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

Drummond's mission to the American colleges ended with a great meeting in Dockstader's Theatre, New York, on October 28, 1887. Delegations of students came from all of the eastern colleges which had been visited by Drummond and his "band of gorillas." The meeting had the effect of bringing to a focus the idea of intercollegiate interest in widespread deputation work. As a result, most of the eastern colleges entered into an aggressive program of evangelistic deputations along the line of Drummond's suggestion.

The effect of Drummond's work on the eastern colleges was made quite manifest when the delegates from these colleges met one year later in their Sixth Annual New England College Conference. Fully a fourth of the eighty-four-page report of this conference is devoted to things started in the colleges because of the influence of Professor Drummond.

Princeton reported: "In the fall we were all very much interested in Professor Drummond's visit to Princeton and the effects of his stay among us are still visible—deputations have been sent to the leading colleges and neighboring preparatory schools and deputations from other colleges have visited us."²⁰

One of the results of Professor Drummond's work was the formation of the New York Student Movement organized during his visit to New York in October, 1887. "This organization embraces some twelve institutions and its plan of work during the past collegiate year has been as follows: Sunday evening meetings in Dockstader's Theatre addressed by some eminent man and usually also by delegates from some one of the neighboring colleges. Besides this, personal work has been done not only in these Sunday evening meetings, but also in the various schools themselves by members of the 'movement.' During the past year there have been about a dozen conversions besides inducing a great many men to connect themselves with the work who had never before been associated with any Christian organization."²¹

Yale University reported: "The most important event in our

²⁰ Report of Sixth New England College Conference, 1888, p. 84.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

religious life this year was the visit of Professor Drummond and Dr. Smith of Scotland, who were with us six days in October. Many men seemed to get a new conception of what Christianity really meant, and others were aroused and quickened and made active in Christian work, and there was no perceptible relapse after his departure. . . . New men have been gained for us who have not flagged once during the year. The deputation work has been a marked success. The work in New Haven City Missions has been a special feature; we are at present starting a new mission in a part of the city that is not particularly aristocratic. This will be wholly controlled by college men and will be addressed by deputations from the University every Sunday." ²²

Harvard reported theater meetings similar to those held under the auspices of the New York Student Movement. They said, "It was thought that, so near to Boston, some kind of meeting might be held to get hold of those who do not ordinarily come under any religious conferences. . . . The five college preachers, Peabody, Gordon, Brooks, Hale, and MacKenzie offered to do the preaching if the students would do the rest. So the Globe Theatre, seating about five hundred, was secured for five Sunday evenings. . . . We look back at the meetings, now that they are over, as an experiment that shows there are more men in Harvard willing to help on a distinctly religious enterprise than is usually supposed." ²³

Few evangelists ever possessed such a respect for the personality of the individual with whom he was dealing as Henry Drummond. There was a finesse in his dealing with individuals that led them personally into vital religious experiences and kindled in them the desire to share their experience with others.

Henry Drummond brought to American college men the first really effective reconciliation of religion and science that the generation had known. His work at Northfield and in the colleges demonstrated the possibility of putting deeper intellectual content into the evangelistic work of the movement without destroying any of its evangelistic zeal and fervor.

²² Report of Sixth New England College Conference, 1888, pp. 81-82,

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

At Northfield and in the colleges Drummond persistently advocated his student deputation idea. To many of the colleges this was a new idea, and the evangelistic deputation work rapidly became one of the most important features in the program of these Christian Associations. In all of the colleges the deputation work was carried forward on a higher level because of the influence of Drummond and the group of men who had demonstrated the idea to American college students.

The visits of Drummond and Studd brought American and British students closer together and was a significant part of the road leading toward the later development of the World's Student Christian Federation. The deputation that came with Drummond for this service to the American colleges also gained a great deal from their experience that helped toward the later formation of the British Student Christian Movement.

Moody was severely criticized during this and the 1893 Northfield Conference for some of the addresses given by Drummond. At one time this criticism was so serious that Moody agreed to talk with Drummond about it and to report the results of his interview to his conservative friends who had made the protest. On the following day Moody met the protesting group as agreed and gave them this report: "Well, gentlemen, I fully intended to take Drummond to task this morning immediately after breakfast, but before he had been downstairs ten minutes he showed himself in various ways so much better a Christian than I am that I simply hadn't the nerve to tackle him and I cannot do it."²⁴

George Adam Smith in his introduction to Drummond's book on Dwight L. Moody, says: "Moody was bitterly blamed for the way he stuck to Drummond and for the invitations he gave to Drummond in 1893 to speak at Northfield . . . 'I have never,' he said at the time when Drummond was most hotly attacked, 'heard or read anything by Drummond with which I did not heartily agree—though I wish he would often speak of the Atonement.'"²⁵

²⁴ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 134-135. George Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, pp. 452-53.

²⁵ Henry Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody*, p. 22.

Henry Drummond's remarkable student ministry was cut short in the midst of his greatest usefulness by a long and painful illness which began the latter months of 1894, forcing him to drop completely his work in 1895 and which continued until his death at the age of forty-five, in March, 1897. Following Drummond's death Moody paid a tribute to Henry Drummond which lets us into the secret of Drummond's amazing power with students:

"No words of man can better describe his life or character than those which he has presented to us 'The Greatest Thing in the World.' Some men take an occasional journey into the 13th. verse of I Corinthians, but Henry Drummond was a man who lived there constantly, appropriating its blessings and exemplifying its teachings. As you read what he terms the analysis of love, you find that all its ingredients were interwoven into his daily life, making him one of the most lovable men I have ever known. Was it courtesy you looked for, he was a perfect gentleman. Was it kindness, he was always preferring another. Was it humility, he was simple and not courting favor. It could be said of him truthfully, as it was said of the early apostles, 'that men took knowledge of him that he had been with Jesus.' Nor was this love and kindness only shown to those who were close friends. His face was an index to his inner life. It was genial and kind, and made him like his Master, a favorite with children. . . . Never have I known a man who in my opinion lived nearer the Master or sought to do His will more fully. . . . No man has ever been with me for any length of time that I did not see something was unlike Christ and I often see it in myself, but not in Henry Drummond. All the time we were together he was a Christlike man and often a rebuke to me." ²⁶

²⁶ George Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 9. Quoted from *The Record of Christian Work*, May, 1897, p. 129.

CHAPTER XIX

PREPARING FOR A STUDENT CRUSADE ¹

WISHARD's departure for the Orient in the autumn of 1888 put upon his associate, C. K. Ober, the responsibility for national leadership. Free to select an associate for the college work, he chose John R. Mott, the able president of the Cornell University Association. In a sense rarely equalled in the history of Christian Movements, most of the great religious awakenings among students during the next three decades can be traced directly or indirectly to influences coming from "the lengthening shadow" of this Cornell University student on the religious life of the centers of learning throughout the world.

Although the present volume deals only with the first decade of Mott's leadership of the Student Movement, it is nevertheless impossible to appreciate even those early years without some understanding of the circumstances of his youth and his growing experience of God. The missionary awakening at Mount Hermon, coupled with the rapid spread of the influence of the Movement in the colleges, set the stage for a great new student crusade for the Christian "conquest of the world." For years and in hidden ways God had been preparing John R. Mott for leadership in such an hour—a leadership that should have as its central distinguishing characteristic that power which Ignatius Loyola had, of kindling in individuals and little groups of students such a "passionate love of God" as would make them ready to go to the ends of the world to share their experience of God with others.

John R. Mott, son of John S. and Elmira (Dodge) Mott, was born in Livingston Manor, New York, May 25, 1865. This village

¹ There has appeared since this chapter was written (1931) an excellent biography by Basil Mathews: *John R. Mott, World Citizen* (1934-Harpers). Dr. Mott vouched for the historical accuracy of this chapter when he read the entire manuscript.—*Author*.

had been the home of the Motts for more than a generation and John S. Mott had grown to manhood and married there. He led the rugged, busy life of logger and farmer. Within a few months of the birth of John R. Mott his parents followed the trail of westward emigration to the rich farm lands of Iowa to make their home with the first settlers of the village of Postville. As a lumberman trusted for his integrity and as a public-spirited citizen John S. Mott was held by his fellow-townsmen in such high esteem that he was elected their first mayor. So marked was Mr. Mott's ability for harmonizing differences between individuals and groups of diverse and conflicting interests that throughout his lifetime he enjoyed an enviable reputation as a good friend and conciliator—a trait that, repeated in the son, has in scores of crises brought unity out of what seemed to be certain chaos.²

Always enjoying the confidence of his fellow-townsmen because of his extraordinary uprightness and his spirit of service, the father nevertheless was not an active participant in the life of the Church nor of the other distinctly religious interests of the community. The winter of 1878-79 was one long remembered by the citizens of Postville because of the great revival of religion that shook the community, largely as the result of the work of the Quaker evangelist J. W. Dean, who that year had accepted the call to become the State Y.M.C.A. Secretary of Iowa. Among those who made public profession of religion was John S. Mott, followed soon by his son John R., then a lad not quite fourteen years old. The father at once joined the Methodist Church and until his death remained an active force in the Church. John R. was at that time an exceedingly active public school boy, but as is usual in frontier communities his school work was frequently interrupted by demands for help in the lumber yard and office. It was the vigorous outdoor life of his boyhood which gave him that rugged constitution which in later years withstood physical strains impossible to men of ordinary physique.³

² Personal conference with B. R. Barber, confidential secretary to John R. Mott.

³ *Ibid.*

He early evidenced a great fondness for public speaking and debating; both in high school and college he became absorbed in the activities of the literary and debating societies. A consciousness of his developing gifts for public work together with a growing fascination for political questions led him to covet for himself a place of influence in public life.⁴ In the autumn of 1884 he enrolled as a freshman in Upper Iowa University (Fayette), a Methodist college which combined good instruction with an aggressive religious atmosphere. Before he had completed his first college year the inner conflict between the religion of his college and his own growing ambition for a life of political influence and material success was so great that he determined to leave Upper Iowa.⁵

Untroubled by great intellectual or moral difficulties, he was annoyed nevertheless by a growing feeling that too complete a surrender of his life to God might mean the giving up of his own plans for the use of his life. Externally he had the appearance of the conventionally religious youth; internally there was going on a fight to the finish between two irreconcilable philosophies of the investment of life. Years later, at the Student Volunteer Convention at Indianapolis, in 1924, Mott, referring to this experience, said: "What hinders our placing our lives at the disposal of Christ, henceforth to do his will and not our own? With some of you it may be, as it once was with me, a selfish ambition. Let it be repeated, there are two views of one's life. One is that a man's life is his own, to do with as he pleases; the other that it belongs to another, and in the case of the Christian, that the other to whom it belongs is Christ himself. At first, although I bore the name of Christian, I held the former or selfish view."⁶

Torn by this inner conflict, he started for the East, with his parents' approval, in the autumn of 1885 to enroll in the sophomore class of Cornell University, which "then had the reputa-

⁴ *Ibid.* Letters to his parents while in school displayed unusual knowledge of political characters and events of the period.

⁵ *Ibid.*; and John R. Mott: "The Commitment of Life," in *Christian Students and World Problems*, p. 63.

⁶ John R. Mott, "The Commitment of Life" in *Christian Students and World Problems*, pp. 52-63.

tion," "unfounded"—as he "too late discovered"—of being a "Godless institution."⁷ Commenting, at the dedication of Barnes Hall in 1889, on the views held at the time by some religious people regarding Cornell and other state institutions, President C. K. Adams said: "Although there were not wanting those who seemed to think that they could serve Christianity best, or at least serve other institutions best by dissuading all Christians from coming to Cornell, there were also considerable numbers who had the hardihood to believe that ignorant enthusiasm, however honest, is not necessary to a pure and vigorous Christianity."⁸

To Mott's great surprise he was met at Ithaca by the outstretched hand and offer of friendship of a student representing the college Y.M.C.A. The inescapable friendly services of this Association member and his friends made it all the more difficult for this nineteen-year-old sophomore to refuse the invitations to participate in the religious activities of the Association.

It is suggestive of the power of home training and habits that, although he had determined to fight shy of any entangling religious alliances, yet his first Sunday in Ithaca found him at both morning and evening service in the local churches.⁹ Judging by external evidences, probably most of the Christian people in these two congregations that day would have regarded him as a normal, happy, Christian youth. Internally, however, the struggle was fiercer than ever, for during these first three or four days in Ithaca, although thrilled by the great university and its advantages, he had discovered that the flight East had not taken him away from his conscience, the outreach of the prayers of others, or even from the disturbing religious influences that he had so much feared at Upper Iowa.

Resolving that he would not be drawn into the religious life of the college, he buried himself in his studies and other activities. Toward the middle of November word spread through the college that the Association was bringing to the college the famous

⁷ John R. Mott, *op. cit.*

⁸ President C. K. Adams, *History of Barnes Hall*, pamphlet (1889), p. 4.

⁹ Personal conference with B. R. Barber, confidential secretary to John R. Mott.

English cricketer, J. E. K. Studd.¹⁰ Probably no other single name could have had greater drawing power for this young Iowan and for the rest of the student body. Torn between the desire to hear Studd and his fear of religious meetings, Mott did not find it easy to decide whether to go or stay away. As the hour for the meeting arrived he became uncomfortably curious and was irresistibly drawn to the Botanical Lecture Room, where the meeting was being held. After walking up and down in front of the door of the room where Studd was already speaking, he finally resolved to go in, assuring himself that no disturbing ideas could come from the address of such a great athlete. As Mott opened the door Studd was thundering out these Scripture passages: "Young man, seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not! Seek ye first the Kingdom of God." Mott dropped quickly to a seat, pierced to the very center of his being. He was now plunged into a fiercer internal struggle than he had ever known.¹¹ Later he said: "I have forgotten everything else, but these two passages fastened themselves into my memory like barbs. I could not rid my mind of them. The fight became so intense that I could not sleep nights."¹²

Early the next day he mustered up courage to seek an interview with Studd, who "helped him see the wisdom" of using his "will in following the gleam of light leading Christ's way." A fellow-student helped him on his way Christward by advising him "to forget himself in service of men in real need." This counsel led him to pick out a "dark place of desperate need—the county jail—and to devote much time that year to helping unfortunate, hardened, debased, enslaved men."¹³

How seriously this sophomore took this advice may be judged by the report he gave of this work to the Christian Association several months later, when he said that "thirty convicts with

¹⁰ J. E. K. Studd is now Sir J. E. K. Studd, Bart., Head of the Polytechnic Institute of London. He was Lord Mayor of London 1928-9.—*Author*.

¹¹ John R. Mott, "The Commitment of Life" in *Christian Students and World Problems*, p. 63.

¹² *Ibid.* and *The Springfield Union*, July 12, 1892.

¹³ John R. Mott, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

whom he had come into contact had been converted and that some had read the little New Testament which the Association furnished them three times during the past few months.”¹⁴

Mott's lifelong crusade for a united and Christian world cannot be understood apart from his revolutionary religious experience. Like Paul, he, too, decided that it was useless to “kick against the pricks” and immediately plunged with all the power of his personality into the work of the Christian Association. On December 1, 1885—less than a month after his meeting with Studd—he was elected vice-president of the Association.¹⁵

The struggle for convincing religious experience, however, went on until the holiday vacation, and when he went to spend his vacation among friends and relatives in New York State he thought he could get away from the impressions which had been about him; but “the fight became more and more intense.” Another friend counseled him to give himself to “hard, honest study of the original writings or records about Christ.” Of these studies, carried forward in company with a fellow-student, Mott said: “I undertook a somewhat thorough study of the Resurrection. I shall never forget the day when, with the papers containing my notes spread out on the table, I was able with St. Thomas to say to Christ with intellectual honesty, My Lord and my God. I at once wrote to my father who had held for me, an only son, a prosperous business, and told him to dispose of it, for I had seen a vision. That vision of Christ as Lord—and, therefore, the one who alone has the right to determine the investment of one's life, has never faded but has continued to command me.”¹⁶

The visit in May of C. K. Ober, National College Secretary, to secure delegates for the proposed student conference at Mount Hermon, marked another turning point in the religious experience of this sophomore.¹⁷ Mott greeted Ober by saying that he

¹⁴ Minutes of Cornell University Christian Association for April 27, 1886.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* for December 1, 1885.

¹⁶ John R. Mott, “The Commitment of Life” in *Christian Students and World Problems*, pp. 63-64.

¹⁷ C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent*, p. 70; and C. K. Ober, *Life of Luther D. Wishard*, p. 91. NOTE: Mott, as suggested by Ober, was not president of the Cornell Association but vice-president.

and a friend had been so impressed by the literature calling the conference that they were seriously considering going as delegates. Ober at once laid siege to these two students; when they had been won, all three set to work to secure the largest possible delegation from Cornell. Shortly after Ober's visit the minutes of the Cornell University Association stated that Mr. Mott and Mr. Moody had been "elected delegates to Mr. Moody's Summer School; the expenses there and back to be paid by the Association" and that "an additional 9 delegates had been offered and their names handed in."¹⁸

Few delegates were more profoundly influenced by the Mount Hermon Conference than this Cornell Association vice-president. The friendships formed and messages heard gave devotion, intellectual content, crusading purpose, and spiritual passion to his developing religious life. Here was begun the lifelong friendship with Dwight L. Moody which influenced so greatly Mott's evangelistic outlook and his methods of evangelistic work. The friendship with Ober, begun at Cornell, ripened into an affection and confidence which found one of its finest immediate expressions in Mott's seeking the counsel of Ober on the many problems connected with the leadership of the religious life at Cornell.¹⁹ Studd, returning from the meetings at Cornell, had cautioned Wishard and Ober to "keep their eyes on that young man." Now, in the Mount Hermon Conference, Wishard and Richard C. Morse and Moody became acquainted with Mott for the first time and, during a meeting in which Mott was speaking, Moody leaned over to Morse and whispered, "Keep your eyes on that young man," to which Morse responded, "We have our eyes on him."²⁰

Mott was early drawn by Robert Wilder into the missionary movement at Mount Hermon and so effective was his leadership that, when a deputation of four was selected to tell the story of the missionary awakening to the colleges, Mott was included.²¹ That Mott went to this Mount Hermon Conference with expect-

¹⁸ Minutes of Cornell University Association for May 24, 1886.

¹⁹ C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent*, pp. 72-74.

²⁰ R. C. Morse, *My Life with Young Men*, p. 356.

²¹ *The Springfield Union*, July 12, 1893.

tation of experiencing a great religious and missionary awakening may be judged by the following quotations from an editorial written by Mott on Mount Hermon in *The Cornell University Christian Association Bulletin* prior to the conference:

"The effect that this movement will have on the country cannot yet be fully told; but it does seem that it will be followed by a great religious awakening in our centers of brain culture. May the movement which has been sweeping through British universities, sending their best brain into the world to carry on the conflict against spiritual wickedness in high places, and to sweep away the clouds of heathendom from continents—which this year sends thirty men from the graduating class of Cambridge alone, into the mission field—may such a movement soon enter *our* universities. To this end let the prayers of Christians be offered for the success of Mr. Moody's college conference."²²

When a committee of the Mount Hermon Conference was commissioned to send greetings to the women students assembled at Lake Geneva to form the Intercollegiate Y.W.C.A., Mott was on this committee. He also shared in drawing up the letter sent by the delegates to the students in missionary colleges. Although prevented by family difficulties from joining the missionary deputation to the colleges, he did return to Cornell to throw himself with abandon into the work of the Cornell Association.

At the beginning of the autumn term "A. Grant offered his resignation" as President of the Association. "An informal ballot for president was taken. Mr. John R. Mott received 37 votes and upon motion the ballot was made formal." In December, 1886, when the annual election of officers took place Mott was re-elected "for the ensuing year."²³ He held this office until December 5, 1887, when he was elected a trustee of the Y.M.C.A.

How profoundly the Mount Hermon missionary awakening had influenced the thinking and life purpose of this Cornell junior, who in later years was to become one of the world's greatest missionary statesmen—may be guessed from an article he

²² *The Cornell University Christian Association Bulletin*, June, 1886.

²³ Minutes of C.U.C.A. for Sept. 20, 1886, and Dec. 7, 1886.

wrote for *The C.U.C.A. Bulletin* shortly after he accepted the presidency of the Association. In this he said:

"On January 9 was held the first missionary meeting in the history of our Association. As a result of the interest awakened by this meeting, a missionary band was formed for the purpose of crystallizing the missionary spirit among our members. The basis of membership in this band is willingness on the part of any member to answer before God the question, 'Why should I not go into the foreign field to labor for Christ?' This very searching question implies a different state of mind and heart from that stage of consecration in which one says, 'I am willing to go anywhere God wants me.' It implies that the claims of the foreign field are a greater burden on one's heart than any other branch of Christian work.

"But this is just one point in the American college circle at which, this year, the deepest missionary enthusiasm is breaking out. The track of Robert Wilder and John Forman of Princeton, who are communicating to our colleges the Mount Hermon Missionary ardor and consecration, is lined with young men standing out and saying:—'Here am I, send me.'

"These are bright days for the foreign work when at last our college students are seriously considering the last command of our Saviour. Harmful, indeed, has been that self-centered tendency of placing in such undue prominence the home missions, while there was already one evangelist for every six hundred persons here, and at the same time there was in the Dark lands, at the most, not one for every 150,000. And still more harmful has been that widely-prevailing opinion that the men of greatest intellectual grasp and finest culture are all needed in the home field. If mind and heart power are needed anywhere, surely it is to batter down the infidel systems of India and China which have been so firmly grounded by centuries of undisturbed existence.

"Is it not high time that Cornell took part in this God-inspired movement? Shall Amherst and Williams and Princeton lead us in consecration to a work which both a living and an ascended Christ has so honored? Surely from our Association now closely crowding the three hundred line, there will be many more who will conscientiously investigate the soul-stirring claims of Foreign

Missions, and seek a clear answer to the question: 'Why am I exempt.'"²⁴

Mott's leadership as student president of Cornell Association increased the membership from 100 to 406; it brought spiritual quickening and efficiency in organization which gave at once to the Association a commanding position among Cornell students and among Christian student organizations. The report of his fifteen months as student president of the Cornell Association vividly dramatizes what may happen in any situation when the leadership of a movement comes into the hands of a youth for whom, as for St. Francis of Assisi, "religion is not a thing like a theory but a thing like a love affair."²⁵ The report of this twenty-two-year-old Cornell senior is a real state document, occupying twenty-four typed pages and revealing in every line characteristics of mind and spirit which show how truly the "boy is father to the man." To this Cornell senior the Association was "destined to be a mighty power at Cornell" because surely "a force higher than man was directing its life." It has "won the respect" of the students, faculty, and trustees. It has no friction. It has "the coöperation of all denominations" but "among us, denominational lines are entirely forgotten." "One hundred and thirteen members are serving on committees" and the "number of committees has been increased from 13 to 27." "The broadening of the policy of the Association so as to 'accept unhesitatingly all works in the field of religious thought save such as it may deem merely flippant and malicious' is worthy of special notice." "At the beginning of each term the chairmen of all committees spent a social evening together and planned the work in advance." New students have been helped "on a countless number of points"; "for the first time in the history of the Association, evangelistic meetings have been held"; "the system of Bible Study has undergone a radical change"; "five classes have adopted the Inductive Studies," resulting in "interesting more students." "The membership in the missionary band has increased to thirty-nine. When we remember that Cornell has never sent out a single

²⁴ *C.U.C.A. Bulletin*, January, 1887.

²⁵ G. K. Chesterton, *Life of St. Francis*.

missionary into the foreign field, we begin to catch the significance of this movement." "More than once" "the work" has been seriously retarded, "owing to lack of suitable rooms" and has had to "shut" its "eyes to promising avenues of usefulness." Foreseeing this, the Association voted to erect a building as soon as practicable. Two members decided to give the project a boom by getting ten men to pledge \$100 each, and in "less than three weeks nearly \$8,000 was pledged—\$5,400 in \$100 subscriptions. By June last, an even \$10,000 had been promised." "It was only after we had done all we could that God answered our prayers in a measure larger than we dared to ask," through "the princely gift" of \$45,000 "of Alfred S. Barnes. Let us not cease to thank our God for impelling one to show himself to be so truly our friend."

The Association had many helpful visitors. Robert Wilder and John F. Houston of Princeton, Pandita Ramabai from India, College Secretary C. K. Ober with "many helpful hints," J. B. Reynolds of Yale, who explained and helped start the "Inductive Method of Bible Study." The Association has never been a hermit—delegates have gone to all conferences but especially to the "College of Colleges" at Mount Hermon in '86 and Northfield in '87, and "they have come back with a deeper insight into the work" and a far broader conception of the intercollegiate movement. "The work has become so large and time-consuming that what we need and must have is a general secretary, a young man who carries in his mind and heart the whole Association scheme and who gives all his time to the Association."

But there are dangers in success—especially those of "leaning" on prestige and achievement rather than on the "power of God." "Associations" like Cornell "should count converts by the scores instead of by twos, threes, or a dozen." It must not be self-centered but "must begin to reach out and touch the outside world. God grant that Cornell may give birth to some religious movement that will touch the world—just as the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A., originated by our Princeton brothers, is the most potent religious factor in American colleges today, or as the American Foreign Missionary Movement, which took its rise among

a few young men by that old haystack at Williams College, is lifting every fallen nation on the globe."²⁶

In his work as president Mott was aided greatly by Ober, whose visits and letters were eagerly welcomed. In January, 1887, in a letter to Ober, Mott told of his reelection to the presidency and urged Ober to visit Cornell. "I should like to have a good talk with you on several important matters, as the White Cross, New Building, the Y.W.C.A. problem in Cornell, the test that should be applied to reading matter received into our library, etc. I am beginning to feel keenly the responsibility attached to the position and want to have all the light possible."²⁷ That his scholarship did not suffer because of his Association work is evidenced by his election to Phi Beta Kappa and the offer by the university of a European Fellowship in Philosophy which would equip him to teach philosophy. He was also chosen as commencement orator.

In February, 1888, the first official move was made to carry out Ober's desire to secure Mott as his associate for the period of Wishard's absence from America. Wishard, Morse, McBurney, and Henry Webster saw Mott during the meeting of the New York State Convention in Harlem and urged that upon graduation in June he join Ober in the college secretaryship. Mott promised to give the proposal serious consideration, but weeks passed and he did not send his answer. His hesitancy in making a decision was no doubt influenced by his preoccupation with some questions of major policy for the Cornell Association. The remarkably successful Association program, together with the certainty of a building (Barnes Hall) which would serve as the center of the religious life of students, created serious problems for the future. To provide for the care of the building a board of trustees was created on December 5, 1887—"Professor Tyler, Mr. Thurber, Mr. Mott, and Mr. Kennedy." As at Toronto and Yale, it quickly became apparent that the growth in responsibilities and activities would force the Association to have more lead-

²⁶ *C.U.C.A. Bulletin*, December, 1887: John R. Mott, "A Year's Development of the Christian Association."

²⁷ C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent*, pp. 73-74.

ership than could be given by the undergraduate cabinet. In the early months of 1888 Mott was therefore vigorously agitating for the employment of a general secretary who should give "all his time and energy to the work of the Association"—"a man with executive ability and good social qualities; a man who is acquainted with the Association, with the students, and with Cornell life; above all a man of deep spirituality."²⁸ In view of the amazing leadership that he had given the Association as an undergraduate it was not strange that much pressure was put on him to remain at Cornell. At a meeting of the Cornell Association on March 2, 1888, Mott was invited to become "the first general secretary of the Association"—a call which must have had great attractions for him.

Returning the latter part of March from an extended tour in the West, Ober learned of Mott's delay in decision; at once he boarded a train for Ithaca, hoping by personal persuasion to win this student president to the national college secretaryship. Finding Mott practically decided against accepting the call, Ober patiently went over with him the reasons for and against taking up this work. Mott still did not want to give a final decision, but as he walked with Ober to his train he assured him that he would act quickly. Faced with what was a far more momentous decision for him and for the world than he could have guessed, he and Ober silently prayed for God's guidance as they stood in a coal shed near the railroad station while waiting for Ober's train.²⁹ In this fellowship of earnest seeking and waiting there came to this student the word of "the still small voice" and for him the question was settled.

In a letter sent to Ober on April 16, 1888, he said: "As far as I am concerned I am prepared to say that I will try this work for next year. I have adjusted a plan for Cornell next year which meets the approval of our safest and best men. There are one or two points in connection with it which are not perfectly clear today but which I hope to have settled within a week. My parents, I can see, are somewhat loath to let me go, but they not

²⁸ *C.U.C.A. Bulletin*, "The General Secretaryship at Cornell," April, 1888.

²⁹ C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent*, pp. 77-78.

only do not answer my arguments in favor of entering the work, but also do not forbid my doing so. I can therefore give you my ultimatum within one week.”³⁰ The adjustment of the Cornell work which seemed to free him for the National College Secretaryship is reported in the minutes of the Cornell University Christian Association for May 5, 1888, as follows: “Mr. Mott declined the nomination for General Secretary.” “Mr. R. S. Miller was nominated unanimously” for this position.³¹ About this same time he sent his “ultimatum” to Ober accepting the College Secretaryship “for one year only.”³² Many years afterward Ober asked him, “What if I had insisted on a term longer than one year?” “My reply,” he answered, “would have been ‘No.’”³³ In view of the many hundreds of millions of dollars that Mott has since raised for the support of many religious movements, it is significant that one condition of his acceptance was that he be free from any responsibility for raising money.³⁴

In the autumn of 1888 Mott began his work as Ober’s associate. Ober served altogether five and a half years as National College Secretary—three and a half years with Wishard and two with Mott. But for Ober’s judgment and skill in winning and leading men the leadership of John R. Mott might have been lost to the Movement and to students of the world. In the early part of 1890 Ober left the college work to give leadership in the general Young Men’s Christian Association field. From that time until 1915, when he was succeeded by David R. Porter, Mott carried the responsibility for the leadership of the Christian forces in the American colleges, in addition to an ever-growing and significant leadership of the student religious movements of all lands. The decade which followed Wishard’s departure for the Orient gives dramatic evidence of the rare combination of gifts of prophetic insight and utterance, executive leadership, and Christian statesmanship possessed by this new militant leader of

³⁰ C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent*, p. 78.

³¹ Minutes C.U.C.A., May 5, 1888.

³² C. K. Ober, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

³³ R. C. Morse, *My Life with Young Men*, p. 357.

³⁴ Personal statement of Mott made in various conferences involving money raising.

the Christian students of the country. Extensively and intensively the growth of the American movement was phenomenal.

Ober's own greatness was again demonstrated in his dealings with the new associate. Intuitively he recognized in Mott the quality of religious life and missionary passion which made him the man called by God to give effective leadership to the new missionary awakening and especially to give to it the kind of guidance that would keep the Student Volunteer Movement an integral part of the Student Movement. So at Ober's urgent request this was made the project for which Mott was peculiarly responsible during his first year in the secretaryship. It was this opportunity to guide what he regarded as "the greatest religious movement of the century" and to awaken the colleges and a sleeping Church to their obligation to win the whole world to Christ that completely won him to work with students. In his home letters he spoke of his work as "the greatest God could give to any man" and he "wished he had ten lives to give to the work." So thrilled was he by the experiences of these first few months that he quickly forgot the "one year only" condition and gave himself with complete abandon to his vision of a world in which Christ should be Lord of all.³⁵

Such were the circumstances surrounding the preparation, discovery, and initiation of this Cornell student who, in a way unparalleled in history, was to make the students of the world his parish. Within three decades he had "influenced more young men than any man living and had become the most widely-known figure in the academic life of five continents." Here was one student who to the best of his extraordinary ability had responded to Moody's oft-repeated challenge to show the world "what God could really do with one man whose life was wholly surrendered to him."

Probably few men of the past few decades have had so many superlatives used in praise of their work by the leaders in the political, social, and religious life of the world as this student who found himself when he yielded himself wholly to God.

³⁵ Personal conference with B. R. Barber, confidential secretary to John R. Mott.

Scattered through scores of such tributes are phrases such as the following: "depth and power of personality"; "spiritual nature inseparable from every fiber of his being"; "deep consecration"; "missionary passion"; "scholarly attainments"; "charm of character"; "thinks in terms of continents, plans for the world"; "genius for leadership"; "inspirer of energy"; "power of producing enthusiasm"; "captures loyalty"; "marvelous strategist"; "unusual insight into men"; "foremost administrator" and "a foremost figure in world education."⁸⁶

One cannot better summarize the significance of the discovery of this pathfinder for religion among students of the world than to quote the paragraph used by Princeton University in giving to Mott in 1911 the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws:

"John R. Mott, honored by academic and religious bodies for his services in planning and extending the active Christian work of university students; deviser of national and international agencies for this work, particularly the World's Student Christian Federation; presiding leader in the World's Missionary Movement in Edinburgh in 1910; a traveler over four continents in search of room for work; a man of buoyant energy, deep consecration, astonishing success; a new Crusader bent on the Christian conquest of the world."

⁸⁶ Characterizations taken from many separate printed articles.

CHAPTER XX

CRUSADING FOR A CHRISTIAN WORLD

BUILDING on the foundations laid by Wishard, Mott led in many immediate advance steps in every phase of the life of the Movement. The summer student conference is one of the best ways of judging the temper and outlook of the executive leadership of the Student Movement. To Mott fell most of the executive responsibility for the first Northfield Conference following Wishard's departure for the Orient.

When one recalls Mott's oft-repeated maxim—"It is better to get ten men to work than to do ten men's work"—it does not surprise one to find him writing Wishard that "our policy this year has been to transfer as much responsibility as possible to other men, in order that we might be left free to deal with delegations and with special problems that always come up on such occasions. Frank Ober was appointed general manager, Mr. Sam McConnaughy as registrar, and Wentworth took charge of the dining arrangements once more. We had a man at the head of the tent encampment. Stagg directed the athletics as usual. Missionary conferences were presided over by Speer, the Association conferences by See, the Bible classes by Sanders and Jim McConnaughy. You can imagine what a load this lifted from our shoulders. We kept the college conferences for methods of Association work within our own grasp. The expenses this year were \$6,000. We have taken in enough to pay for all. In addition to this, I would state that for the first time we have received no appropriation from the Committee. Heretofore, we have received from \$500 to \$1,000. This year Ober's expenses were paid and, for the first time also, the office expenses concerning the Conference. Three hundred dollars have been put into permanent equipment and over and above all this there will probably be a

small surplus.”¹ There were “fully five hundred delegates present”—double the number who attended the first conference in 1886.

Mott was no less evangelistic in outlook than Wishard, yet from the start he placed greater emphasis on training and sound educational method than was possible during Wishard’s pioneering years. Of the Association conference method which he and Ober “kept within their own grasp” he said: “Every morning at quarter past eight we held a conference on the College Association work. We treated nine fundamental topics. The discussions were more thorough this year than they have ever been owing to the fact that we had them introduced by a paper or speech, prepared beforehand by some specialist on that particular line. Ober and I presided at all the conferences. We made it a point to have at least one man present from each of the 126 colleges represented, and as many more as we could get there.”²

The two platform addresses referred to in this letter suggest the combination of the intellectual and practical notes which in a peculiar way distinguished Mott’s early leadership both in the conferences and the colleges. Of Professor Harper of Yale, whom Moody and other evangelicals suspected as too liberal theologically, Mott says he outdid himself. “His sermon on ‘The Monumental Evidence of Christianity,’ was, in my judgment, the strongest lecture that we had. He left no uncertainty in the mind of any one as to his evangelical character. Even Mr. Moody is enthusiastic over him.” The practical address was by William Blaikie, “who gave us an hour-and-a-half address on ‘Athletics.’ That was one of the best things we had in the whole conference. He pitched right into Mr. Moody before the whole crowd and told him that a man of his build was not good-looking, that he ought to go out and run two or three miles every day. . . . He is the only man that has dared to talk to Moody as Moody talks to other men, before them, I mean. I may say that Moody has

¹ Personal letter, J. R. Mott to Luther D. Wishard, July 14, 1889, Historical Library, New York.

² *Ibid.*

been acting on his suggestions, for since the Conference closed, I have seen him run three foot races with girls.”³

Of the missionary emphasis of the conference he said: “One of the mass meetings was given up to the topic of missions. Wilder and Speer were the speakers and gave us one of the strongest sessions of the Convention. Wilder’s address on ‘Missions’ is, in my judgment, the strongest address on missions that I have ever heard. Speer is a powerful speaker. I never knew a man of his age to talk so fluently and *at the same time to put in such solid thought*. A committee was appointed by the Volunteers and issued the customary Northfield letter to the Student Volunteers throughout the world. This letter will be drafted and written practically by Speer and myself, and you can count upon it that it will be a strong one.”⁴

Wishard’s passion for extending the Student Young Men’s Christian Association in universities of Great Britain, the Continent, and the colleges of mission lands, was responsible for the delegations of students from other countries that came to these early conferences. Already, indigenous Christian movements were beginning to develop in universities outside America. It was characteristic of Mott’s international mind that he should have been as conscious of what these students had to give us as he was of the contributions the American movement might make to their work. Of this aspect of the conference he wrote:

“There were fourteen British students—from Oxford, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Dublin universities. They were a fine lot of men. Their work is pre-eminently centrifugal. We cannot yet say, nor do we ever want to say, that ours is pre-eminently centripetal. I feel that there should be perfect harmony between these two great forces in our work. The delegates this year admitted, to a man, that they had very much indeed to learn from us in the matter of organization.

“You can never know the full significance of your suggestion that the Japanese students of America be invited to this confer-

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

ence. I believe it is to have a tremendous influence upon the evangelization of their great Empire. The twenty-two Japanese delegates were completely carried away with the conference.”⁵

The raising of the intellectual quality of the Bible study and the introduction of the training emphasis is reflected by these comments:

“We conducted two of these Normal Bible Classes. Sanders took charge of one, where he brought out the inductive method. James McConaughy took charge of the other, and taught the Training Class System prepared by Ober and myself last winter. . . . Jim conducted his class on the plan of having thirty picked men gathered around a table in the center of the tent—these men to spend a certain amount of time each day in studying the lesson and to be willing to be quizzed and examined from time to time. The rest were allowed to gather around the sides of the tent. A great many wanted to enter these classes who had to be turned away. Mr. McBurney and a number of friends who were there looked upon this as a most practical feature of the Conference. . . . You recognize perhaps better than I do that the great need of our colleges today is of competent leaders in Bible study and Christian work.”⁶

Perhaps no one feature of the summer student and young people's conferences has had more glamor associated with it than the “stunt night.” It began in this 1889 conference as a Fourth of July outburst of American patriotism. Mott, realizing that the student delegates were “fairly bubbling over with enthusiasm” and with a desire to show the British and Japanese a few glimpses of American patriotism, persuaded Mr. Moody that “it would be absolutely impossible to hold the fellows down to regular sessions on the Fourth. At night we had a great student demonstration. The following were some of the features: patriotic and college songs participated in by all of the students; songs by individual college delegations; toasts by American, English, and Japanese students. Among other features Stagg sang and acted

⁵ Personal letter, J. R. Mott to Luther D. Wishard, July 14, 1889, Historical Library, New York.

⁶ *Ibid.*

out a comic song, and Mishima in full costume went through the evolutions of the Japanese war dance. The exercises in the building concluded by yells participated in by over twenty-five institutions. I suppose there has never been a gathering that will compare with this anywhere in the world."⁷

Both Ober and Mott were convinced that summer conferences like Northfield should be organized as rapidly as possible in other sections of the country. The experiences of the 1889 conference confirmed these convictions. They felt that the second conference should be located in the Middle West. Because the Northfield Conference was regarded as the "World's Student Conference" and so announced, Moody at first looked with disfavor on the proposal for any other summer conference.⁸ Finally, in the spring of 1890, a call was issued by the National Student Committee for a conference of students of the middle west and far west colleges to be held at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin.

This Geneva Conference—"the western Northfield"—brought together 108 students from thirteen states, representing sixty-three institutions. Besides the student delegates there were forty-six instructors and guests present. "It is way beyond anything we expected" was the testimony of student delegates, professors, and the secretaries. Before the end of that college year the universal testimony was that Geneva "had exerted a powerful influence upon the college work of the entire West."⁹ It was so successful that its future was settled and from that time to the present day the term "Geneva" has come to mean to students and church leaders in the middle western states quite as much as the term "Northfield" has meant among the colleges of the eastern part of the country.¹⁰

In 1892, the next extension of the summer conference idea was to the South, a summer conference for students being held at Knoxville, Tennessee. This was the beginning of the separate conference for southern students which in more recent years has

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *The Intercollegian*, October, 1890, pp. 10-11.

⁹ John R. Mott, Annual Report, *Y.M.C.A. Year Book*, 1891, pp. 30-33.

¹⁰ *The Intercollegian*, October, 1890, pp. 10-11.

developed into the Blue Ridge Conference. In Mott's report for the college year 1890-91 he says: "The Northfield idea is spreading rapidly among the students of the world. During the last twelve months Northfield has multiplied itself sevenfold. Similar gatherings of students were held not only at Lake Geneva, and Chautauqua, but also in Great Britain, Scandinavia, Germany, Japan, and Ceylon."¹¹

Three summer conferences for colored students are now (1934) included among the twenty men and women's student conferences in the United States. Like the first Northfield, the summer student conferences continue to be international in character, message, and outlook. This has been achieved both by the inclusion of special guests from abroad and by the presence of foreign students enrolled in American universities. The cosmopolitan character of the delegations in these conferences has grown very rapidly because of the greatly increased number of students from other lands studying in American colleges. Thus, without sacrificing any of the values of the international fellowship of the early conferences, each sectional student conference has, in as true a sense as the early Northfield conferences, been a world student conference.

Mott early saw the need of more national leadership than could be given by one or two men. To relieve Ober and himself of much of the office detail of this rapidly-growing movement, C. H. Lee, Cornell, '89, was associated with the National Student Department office secretary. Very shortly after this Professor Frank K. Sanders of Yale was added for half-time as editor of *The Intercollegian*, which forthwith became a larger and much more useful magazine. To Wishard, Mott described Lee as "the most masterly systematizer" of whom he knew.¹² Soon it was also necessary to add to the national staff men with special responsibility for sections of the country (such as the South and the Pacific Coast region), and to secure a part-time editor for *The Intercollegian* and a part-time expert in Bible study leader-

¹¹ J. R. Mott, Annual Report, *Y.M.C.A. Year Book*, 1891, pp. 30-33.

¹² Letter from J. R. Mott to Luther D. Wishard, dated July 19, 1889, Historical Library, New York.

ship. For a year following Ober's transfer to general Young Men's Christian Association work, J. Campbell White shared with Mott the national college leadership, going from that position to the traveling secretaryship of the Student Volunteer Movement, and thence to India.

The circumstances that led to the calling of Fletcher S. Brockman for special service in the colleges was described in a pamphlet entitled *Christian Work in the Colleges*, published early in 1892. This pamphlet reports that the 1891 Northfield Conference was greatly moved by the facts regarding the struggling Associations scattered through the colleges of the South and the problems of the many institutions not yet influenced by the Student Movement. Among those who felt the situation most keenly was a Vanderbilt University student. His forceful presentation of the religious condition of many southern institutions and his appeal for an enlarged work among them made a profound impression. "Before he could take his seat Mr. Moody had risen and, putting his hand upon the student's shoulder, asked why he did not give himself to this very work. He then urged those present to assist in placing Brockman in the field. Deeply impressive were the succeeding moments, which saw a generous response to Mr. Moody's request."¹³ Feeling clearly called of God to the work, Brockman began in September his service in the southern colleges and the preparatory schools, which was later to be followed by the pioneering years in China which have since made his name nearly as widely honored as that of Mott himself. It was the leadership of Brockman which made possible the assembling of the first summer conference for southern students at Knoxville, June 18-29, 1892.¹⁴ At about the same time a Harvard student, Logan H. Roots (now Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of China), accepted the call of the Student Department to become field secretary for the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain states. It would be difficult to name two Americans who, aside from Mott, have done more than Brockman and Bishop Roots to encourage the best in the national

¹³ *Christian Work in the Colleges*, 1892 (pamphlet).

¹⁴ *Young Men's Era*, June 23, 1892, p. 788, and June 30, 1892, pp. 818-820.

aspirations of the Chinese or to develop an indigenous Chinese Christian Church.

The eleven years preceding Mott's assumption of the college secretaryship were years of secretarial prominence. Although there was much intercollegiate fellowship through state, interstate, and summer student conferences, no processes had yet been devised for giving to students the same share in the direction and control of the intercollegiate aspects of their work as they had in the local student Young Men's Christian Association. During the early years of Mott's leadership a beginning was made toward the assumption of responsibility by students and professors for the success of the intercollegiate work of the Movement.

The rapid growth of the Movement geographically, its deepening and expansion of program, made imperative the provision of trained leadership for many small Student Associations which could be visited only rarely by the national secretaries. The intercollegiate deputation conference was the answer to this problem. In mid-September, 1889, what Ober has called a "strategic retreat" took place on Baker's Island, two miles off the north shore of Massachusetts Bay. Included in this retreat were the three national college secretaries—Ober, Mott, Lee—and S. M. Sayford, who was making a fine contribution to the colleges through his evangelism. Held there three days by a storm, this little handful of secretaries found vision clarified and resources made available for the great tasks of building a Student Christian Movement adequate for the Christian conquest of the world. In this conference the training note first adequately embodied in the intercollegiate deputation plan was born.¹⁵

In the East, South, and Middle West groups of from forty to sixty carefully selected students were brought together for a three-day training conference. Mott, Ober, and others shared with these delegates the history and program experience of the Student Movement. These students then divided into groups of two and, financed by their state Young Men's Christian Association, visited the colleges of their state. They were to do the kind of work as volunteers that a paid traveling secretary might do.

¹⁵ C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent*, pp. 100-101.

Where the right students were selected and the state committees were able to finance their visits, they gave real aid to the college Associations. These deputations gave students valuable training in Christian work, and intercollegiate deputation persisted for four or five years, its place being taken later by the presidents' or officers' training conference. The presidents' conference had the advantage of giving to all newly-elected officers training in the history, philosophy, and methods of work that a few received in the intercollegiate deputation conferences. The first presidential conferences were in Pennsylvania and Ohio during 1890-91. The term "officers'" training conference more accurately describes the conception of training which was the basis for this conference.

These developments in training were in line with Mott's tendency to regard the Student Movement as a militant body of Christian youth being coached for the world-wide work of the Kingdom. A sense of a world task, and of its urgency, the necessity of adequate spiritual dynamic and thorough training for that task expressed itself through these special training conferences, and through the combined missionary, evangelistic, and training emphasis that came into the summer conferences and into every essential element in the Student Association program itself. The sense that the "day of march" had really come began increasingly to pervade every phase of the life of the Movement.

This sense of the importance and urgency of the Movement's task led to a new emphasis on effective and adequate organization, in order that the entire student world might be claimed for Jesus Christ. The more distinctly religious aspects of the work were radically changed by this new atmosphere. Bible study had from the first been central, but now the Movement could not be content with all kinds of Bible study; it was necessary to make available to the colleges the ablest Bible-study leadership in the country, in order that adequate Bible-study courses might be prepared, study groups effectively organized by summer conferences, and officers' training conferences increasingly centered on the training of qualified leaders for student Bible-study groups. The distinguished service to the Student Movement of men like

Professor William Harper of Yale (later President of the University of Chicago) and Professor George S. Burroughs of Amherst, did much to give dignity and appeal to the Bible-study program of the Student Movement across the country. These men served in summer conferences and local Bible-study institutes, such as the Intercollegiate Bible Study Institute at Amherst, November 28-30, 1890.¹⁶ The students at the University of Michigan, in reporting an institute in which Professor Harper had assisted them in the Bible-study leadership, said: "Professor Harper kindled a flame of enthusiasm for thorough-going Bible study."¹⁷

Long before there was any Religious Education Association or any move on the part of the churches for a graded curriculum of religious education, the Student Movement was pioneering in courses and methods of group study adapted to the student age and conditions.

One might well devote several chapters to the relations of this new impetus for thorough-going, effective Bible study to the development of the demand for curriculum Bible study. Probably no other single force was quite as influential in bringing to the attention of the colleges the necessity for curriculum Bible study. As early as 1891, only three years after his assumption of the college secretaryship, Mott, with Professor Burroughs of Amherst, prepared a pamphlet on the *Movement for More Curriculum Bible Study. The Intercollegian* for several years following gave much attention to the progress of this movement. Students were encouraged to unite in petitions, asking for the inclusion of Bible study courses in the curriculum. Reports were given of successful curriculum Bible-study programs.¹⁸

The evangelism of the first decade of the Movement's life had largely followed the emotional and doctrinal emphasis of the Church as a whole. From this type of religious interpretation and experience Mott had fled while a student at Upper Iowa. Against it he fought with all the vigor of his personality during those

¹⁶ *The Intercollegian*, December, 1890, p. 38.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, February, 1891, p. 74, and March, 1891, p. 102.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, December, 1890, p. 37, and pp. 41-45.

months at Cornell while he was endeavoring to test out for himself the validity of Jesus' attitudes and experience of God. In his search for a sound basis for religious faith he had combined hard intellectual effort in his study of the life of Jesus with practical service for needy fellowmen in the county jail. It is easier to understand the new evangelistic emphasis in the life of the Movement when this experience is recalled. It was an evangelism that placed great emphasis on the will and on a rational statement of the essentials of religion. The authentic lead for this emphasis was given both in Mott's personal and public evangelistic work. He early demonstrated his ability to interpret the essentials of the Christian faith and life in a way that led students by scores and hundreds to make decision to understand and follow in the way of Jesus. It was a call for students to dedicate all of life to making the Kingdom of God a reality in their lives, on their campuses, and in the world—for "either Jesus Christ must be Lord of all, or else he is not Lord at all." In Mott capacity for prophetic religious insight and utterance seem to be combined, in a way rarely equalled, with genius for organizing the potential forces for righteousness in a college community. His word and example kindled in thousands of students, professors, and secretaries the same quality of creative leadership. This ministry involving the touch of the master-organizing genius was not always so obvious, as in the conferences and public meetings, since it found expression in meetings with individuals and small groups; the results, however, were quite as significant in the leading of students into vital Christian experience.

For the past forty years students in every land have associated Mott's name and leadership quite as much with such topics as "Secret Prayer," "Bible Study, a Means of Spiritual Growth," "The Person of Jesus," as with the contributions he has made in perfecting and making efficient for the Kingdom the machinery of many religious movements. No matter how burdened with intricate problems—such as those confronting him at the Edinburgh missionary conference—his central and distinguishing appeal has always been a call to prepare for great world service by "going alone with God into a solitude that is not solitary because it is

filled with God." His concern for a perfect organization has been due to his conviction that the work of the Kingdom should be better organized than any other piece of work that is done and that the test of its effectiveness must be the way it helps or hinders in the realization of the Christian objectives of the Movement. Always it has been the burden of an urgent cause and not the needs of an organization that have been the motivation for his tremendous undertaking.

At every point in the early years of Mott's leadership one finds the basic convictions and ways of working that became familiar in later years. The importance of strategy in the work of the Kingdom was one of his most characteristic ideas. The hardest things were to be tackled and conquered first. During his first few years as National College Secretary he gave himself aggressively to such problems as "the development of an adequate program for students in the great city centers," "the providing of buildings that would house the activities of the Christian Association in the great university centers," "the extension of the Movement into the more isolated and scattered sections of the country," and the "development on the part of students of a sense of responsibility both for sharing in the extending of the Student Movement and in the financing of its work."¹⁹

The concentration in professional schools of students destined to occupy positions of influence in the life of the nation made the problems of students in these great city centers a matter of urgent concern. Mott early saw that no adequate work could be done except as in these centers one or more men were employed as secretaries to give leadership to the work.

The sections of the country that had been less influenced during the first decade of the Student Movement's life were the South, the Rocky Mountain states, the Pacific Coast, and the Canadian colleges. The passion for a really national movement led Mott to aim straight at the task of giving adequate attention to these neglected areas of the country. This led to the placing of Brockman in the South and Roots in the West; and to special

¹⁹ Reports of John R. Mott, *Young Men's Christian Association Year Books*, 1889, pp. 35-37; 1890, pp. 36-38.

journeys on the part of Mott himself to Canada and the Pacific Coast. It was this same spirit which led, within the first few months of Mott's secretaryship, to his visits to some of the leading Negro colleges in the South.

The new intellectual emphasis also found expression in the missionary program. Quite early Mott saw that the great need was "not that of getting more volunteers but of making the Volunteer Movement a real educational arm of the Student Movement for developing sound missionary intelligence and conviction."²⁰ Hence the early provision of an educational secretary, the enlargement of the traveling staff of the Student Volunteer Movement, and the rapid building up of missionary education literature.

This deeper intellectual note was evidenced also in the beginnings of a publication department. At first these publications took the form of pamphlets dealing with the methods and the history of the work. Rapidly, however, other literature developed, bearing on the essential message of the Movement. From this, and the work on Bible-study courses, came the beginnings of the great publication movement which in a few years led to the producing of books which were the forerunners of Fosdick's *The Manhood of the Master*, *The Meaning of Prayer*, *The Meaning of Faith*, and of many other publications bearing on the content of the Christian message.

The great quadrennial conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement were looked upon more as agencies for spreading missionary intelligence and understanding than as means of recruiting volunteers. This did not mean that there was a lessening in the call for volunteers but rather in a gradual raising of the standards for volunteers.²¹

During the early nineties the traveling staff of the Student Movement was augmented not only by the increases in the national Student staff and the enlargements of the Student Volun-

²⁰ John R. Mott, Annual Report, *Young Men's Christian Association Year Book*, 1893, p. 30.

²¹ *Young Men's Christian Association Year Books*, 1890, p. 37; 1891, pp. 33-34.

teer staff, but also through the beginnings of the plan of designating to the larger states assistant state secretaries for college work. The March, 1891, *Intercollegian* carried an article regarding the value to a state of an assistant state secretary for college work. While at first these state student secretaries gave some time to general Y.M.C.A. work, by 1900 there were a number of larger state committees that followed the policy of employing a secretary who gave all his time to visiting the colleges of the state. As state committees and the International Committee were organized on simple lines, the addition of these secretaries in the states meant simply an augmenting of the staff for national leadership, all working under the leadership of Mott and the Student Committee, although paid by different treasuries. As state committees and the International Committee grew, there developed those sharp agency lines that tended to destroy the Movement consciousness and that, but for the statesmanship of Mott and the General Board of the Young Men's Christian Association, might have led in 1927 to a Student Movement independent of the Young Men's Christian Association.

The Movement rapidly demonstrated its adaptability to radically different types of institutions. Beginnings were made in the preparatory schools, much attention being given to the need of a national preparatory school secretary. Fletcher Brockman and others had made, prior to 1895, some thorough-going studies of the problems of preparatory school boys. The normal schools and the state universities came to be regarded as strategic centers.

The growth of the Y.M.C.A. in Negro schools and colleges was marked. At Louisville in 1877 delegates from three colored college Associations—Howard, Fisk, and Walden (Central Tennessee) shared in the creation of the Intercollegiate Movement. In 1879 Henry Edwards Brown was appointed by the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. to serve as secretary among colored young men, chiefly in colleges and academies. In 1888 William Alpheus Hunton—first Negro student secretary—began his work in Norfolk, Virginia. There were then Associations in eighteen institutions, with a membership of 1,093 students. By 1900 there were sixty-one student Associations. Intercollegiate

conferences were held for Negro students during that year at Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C., Tuskegee Industrial Institute and Tougaloo for the Associations of Mississippi and Louisiana.²²

It is significant that the Movement had its beginnings in state universities and that its extension has been more rapid there than in any other type of institution. An interesting development under Mott's leadership was a movement that sprang up in the Northfield Conference of 1891 for the recruiting of men for the home ministry and home missions work. A committee was formed for what was intended to be a movement parallel to the Student Volunteer Movement.²³ Although it did not live long as a separate movement, it yet had a profound effect on the program of the Student Movement. From that time forward much more attention was given to confronting students with a life-investment opportunity in the various ministries of the Church, both abroad and in this country. Life-work institutes began to be a feature of the summer conferences, which were no longer devoted solely to the call for foreign missionaries. Business and professional callings, as well as the Christian ministry at home, were presented to students as fields for life investment. From these institutes at the summer conferences developed in different sections of the country special conferences on the Christian ministry promoted by the Student Movement.

Another program feature was the expanding community service activities. During the pioneering years of the Student Movement this had largely taken the form of neighborhood deputations; now a score of different types of community service activities were being promoted. *The Intercollegian* contains reports of work with boys' groups; many students engaged in different

²² Further reference to Negro Student Y.M.C.A. Work is made in Chapter XXIV. The author is indebted to the study by Edward G. Carroll (see bibliography) for the facts given above. It should be noted that the first Negro summer student conference was held at Kings Mountain, North Carolina, May 24-June 2, 1912. There were that year 103 Associations influencing the religious life of 20,000 students and enrolling 3,500 students in voluntary Bible classes.

²³ *Young Men's Christian Association Year Book*, 1892, p. 30.

forms of city mission work; beginnings were made of special college missions, such as the Yale Hope Mission.

Most of these developments were vitally influenced by the crusading spirit of Mott, and all of them prepared Mott for his ministry among students in other lands. Beginning with 1895, the experience that the American Movement had gained in local and intercollegiate work through the leadership of Wishard and Mott could be shared with Christian movements in every other land. Mott had two brief trips to Europe between 1891 and 1895; but, aside from these, the entire seven years were devoted to the most intensive sort of marshalling of the Christian forces of the nation in the building of a Student Movement that should be a great power in holding up Jesus Christ before college men and in the evangelization of the whole world. It was this experience in the leadership of the American Movement, both on the side of its message and on the side of the perfection of its organization, that equipped Mott for the leadership of the succeeding years in this country and other countries as a secretary both of the American Movement and of the World's Student Christian Federation.

CHAPTER XXI

ELIMINATING GEOGRAPHICAL BARRIERS

A TENDENCY to eliminate all geographical, confessional, and racial barriers to the realization of brotherhood among the students of the world has characterized the Student Movement from its very beginning. This international outreach has expressed itself with equal force both in its missionary program and in its efforts to band together in one movement Christian students of all lands. The developing foreign missionary program of the Student Movement, culminating in the Student Volunteer Movement, helped prepare the way for the uniting of students into a world-wide movement. This chapter will, therefore, deal with some mileposts on the road to the discovery of the creative idea that made possible world organization.

The first two national college secretaries, Wishard and Ober, not only were missionary enthusiasts but were internationalists in the widest sense of the term. Wishard's determination to extend the Student Young Men's Christian Association into mission lands was one of the earliest evidences of this international interest. The idea of its extension to Europe and Great Britain followed, stimulated by a letter received by Wishard in 1879¹ from a Swiss student active in the Young Men's Christian Association of his city. The thought germinated by this incident "steadily grew and finally found expression in addresses describing the American Movement,"² which Wishard gave at the World's Conference in London in July, 1881, also at a provincial conference in Elberfeld, Germany, in August, 1881, and at the Scottish National Conference in Alloa in September, 1881.

When Wishard, in August, 1882, learned that Frank K. San-

¹ Luther D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 217.

² *Ibid.*, p. 146.

ders, a recent graduate of Ripon College, Wisconsin, was about to sail to teach in Jaffna College, Ceylon, he corresponded with him regarding "the adaptation of the American Student Movement to the Orient." Sanders, who at Yale and in Wisconsin had been an outstanding leader in the Student Y.M.C.A., responded with enthusiasm to this suggestion. Shortly after his arrival, Sanders was successful in organizing a Young Men's Christian Association in Jaffna College. Formed March 15, 1884, this society was the first Student Y.M.C.A. outside North America. Under Sanders' leadership the movement begun in Jaffna College extended rapidly to other colleges in Ceylon.³

True to the traditions of the Student Y.M.C.A. this Jaffna College Association not only undertook "the regular departments of work" but also assumed missionary responsibility—"the evangelization of a neighboring island, where there was not a single Christian when they commenced work." This they supported with their own savings and earnings, reserving for it "one-tenth of their supply of rice," the proceeds of which, when sold, were used for their mission.⁴

The spring and summer months of 1883 were packed full of events of significance to the extension of the Student Movement in other lands. The Fourth National College Conference, held at Milwaukee, voted for an interchange of correspondence with colleges of Asia, Europe, and Great Britain, looking toward the spread of the Movement.⁵ Wishard, in a summer spent at Fulton, Missouri, in company with the Rev. W. H. Marquist, reading missionary biography, resolved to secure at the earliest possible moment a leave of absence from his American work for the purpose of propagating the Movement in the colleges of mission lands. Mr. Marquist, speaking to students two years later of the decision formed by Wishard, said:

"Two years ago I found the ardent College Secretary . . . mapping out his work on a broader scale designed to develop such an aggressive missionary spirit as will send forth the college

³ Luther D. Wishard, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁴ Luther D. Wishard, *A New Programme of Missions*, pp. 69-70.

⁵ Report of 25th International Convention, Milwaukee, 1883, pp. 19-20.

boys no longer by tens, but by hundreds, it may be by thousands, to bear the lamp of life to earth's perishing millions. Already that spirit is moving in our colleges. I have seen the glow of surprise that lit up a young man's life when he learned that he was not merely a member of a little local Association, but a soldier in one company of a mighty army, in rank with the Christian students of the colleges of the world; in rank with the 200,000 bold spirits that make up our Associations in every department, whose field of battle is commensurate with the boundaries of the earth and whose one high ambition is the redemption of the young men of all the nations."⁶

Speaking of Wishard's leadership and the progress in international extension and outlook, Mr. Marquist further said: "And it was in the classic halls of Princeton that there rose like a star of hope the thought of the international movement of the College Y.M.C.A's.—a movement which in eight short years has swept its curve of blessing and power out to the isle of Old Ceylon and which is destined to round into a world-wide organization of which after ages shall say 'A band of men whose hearts God had touched.'"⁷

The effect of Moody's recent mission to the students of Cambridge and Oxford was beginning to be felt in a desire for closer fellowship between Christian students in Great Britain and the United States.⁸ A conference between Wishard and an Andover Seminary student, Harlan P. Beach, was destined to lead within another year to the organization of the first Young Men's Christian Association in China, at Tungchow College. The mail that brought the announcement of this Association in Tungchow also brought letters reporting the banding together of Christian students in Turkey and in Japan.⁹

Speaking of the work of the students in this Association at Tungchow, Wishard said:

⁶ Twenty-sixth International Convention of Y.M.C.A's., Atlanta, Ga., 1885, p. 74.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

⁸ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, p. 120.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

"At Tungchow College near Peking there is a band of students whose work, were it known, would be an inspiration to the entire college world. Prayer-meetings and Bible classes are maintained, individual work is done in college, and much preaching is carried on in the street chapels. A meeting is held every month to study the progress and pray for the spread of the Kingdom of Christianity throughout the world. Out of their bitter poverty these Chinese students are taking a hand in the evangelization of Africa by educating a boy in a school in Zululand at their own expense."¹⁰

In September, 1884, Wishard prepared a pamphlet on the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association. That he pictured at this time the building of a world-wide movement is clear. Referring to the meeting in Earl Dodge's room at Princeton, he said: "The movement spread from his room in Princeton to the college; from the college to two hundred other colleges; from America to Ceylon. It will continue to spread until the students in the old universities of Great Britain and Europe and the students in the missionary colleges in the Orient and the Dark Continent are united with the students of America in one world-wide Movement of Christ for the students of the world and the students of the world for Christ."¹¹

In the early part of the year 1885, as the result of a suggestion from Wishard, James B. Reynolds (Yale, 1884) during a year of graduate study in Germany succeeded in organizing a Student Young Men's Christian Association in Berlin.¹² This was described in the Fifth National College Conference at Atlanta (May, 1885) by Count Pückler and Christian Phildius of Berlin. In Mr. Wishard's report to this conference he made the following remarkable prophecy: "It has been an onward movement because God has been in it. We are living only in the early twilight of this work. It is to reach not only every institution of higher education in the country, but it has gone beyond the sea . . . The time will come when there will be 'one world-wide movement' in

¹⁰ Jubilee Conference Report, p. 81.

¹¹ L. D. Wishard, *The Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. Movement* (1885), p. 57.

¹² L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 146-47.

which we will communicate to one another suggestions and enthusiasms for work for Christ.”¹³

A committee appointed by the delegates at the Mt. Hermon Conference, 1886, with John R. Mott as Chairman, sent a letter of greeting to Christian students in all non-Christian lands for the purpose of encouraging the organization of Young Men's Christian Associations in the colleges of these lands.¹⁴ The contribution of the Northfield Conference of 1887 was even more significant, because the presence of Henry Drummond and the delegation of Scottish university students and professors marked the beginning of that international fellowship among students that had to precede world organization.¹⁵

Wishard had hoped that with the help of Drummond the Movement might be spread in Great Britain. Greatly to Wishard's disappointment, however, he found Drummond “utterly disinclined” to give himself to anything in the way of organized methods.¹⁶ However, as one follows Drummond's later activities with Christian student groups in Great Britain, one suspects the purpose was accomplished much more than Wishard at the time realized.

Wishard's personal convictions regarding the extension of the Student Y.M.C.A. into other lands was strengthened by the appeal brought to the 1887 conference by Rev. Jacob Chamberlain, M.D., American Board missionary to India, who, on behalf of the churches pleaded for the immediate extension of Y.M.C.A. work to foreign missionary countries through trained general secretaries. These countries needed, he said, “the life, the fire, the method which the Y.M.C.A.'s. are giving to the young men in America.”¹⁷

This appeal, together with the fact that, in the trail of the tour of Wilder and Forman, laymen in several cities had offered to furnish money to secretaries, led to the sending of David McConaughy of Philadelphia to India as a pioneer Y.M.C.A. secre-

¹³ Twenty-sixth International Convention, Atlanta, Ga. (1885), p. 80.

¹⁴ L. D. Wishard, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁵ See Chapter XVIII, on Henry Drummond's work.

¹⁶ L. D. Wishard, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

¹⁷ *College of Colleges*, report of 1887 Northfield Conference, pp. 178-79.

tary. At this same conference there came also the appeal for Christian teachers of English in the government schools of Japan, with the result that a Foreign Education Commission was formed and J. L. Swift (Yale, 1885) sent as the forerunner of a teaching group which had profound effect on the development of the Christian movement in Japan.

The success of the Student Young Men's Christian Association in American colleges led Wishard to plan and work for a world federation of students *through the extension of the American Student Young Men's Christian Association in other lands*. He saw the creation of this world Movement as a part of the missionary task of the American Movement. The European universities, and those of Great Britain in particular, were not inclined to reproduce the Young Men's Christian Association. They were, however, eager to learn from American experience and to encourage the development of a Christian movement as indigenous to their national university situation as was the Student Young Men's Christian Association to American colleges.

In the spring of 1888 Wishard decided to preface his world missionary tour by a brief visit to England, touching some of the leading city Associations and conferring with the foremost Association men, in order to awaken their interest in the proposed Movement among young men in non-Christian lands. Wishard had planned not to leave America until after the 1888 Northfield Conference, but one day, as he rested, his mind turned to the "long-continued effort, unsuccessful thus far, to effect an entrance in the British universities; whereupon I was unexpectedly seized, yes, literally seized, gripped, possessed with the idea that the only way to approach them and enlist them was to go in person and go as Moody's messenger and invite the universities to send delegates to Northfield and to return with them myself and devote myself to fully saturating them with the spirit and methods of the American Movement, and then send them back to their respective universities to do as students for their fellows what they after all could do better even than Studd, the alumnus; or Drummond, the professor."¹⁸ So sure was he that this idea

¹⁸ C. K. Ober, *Luther D. Wishard*, pp. 122-123.

was right that he jumped from his bed and told Mrs. Wishard they would sail for Liverpool within ten days.

Mr. and Mrs. Wishard started immediately for New York for conference with Mr. Richard C. Morse, the General Secretary of the International Committee, and Mr. Ober. As both of these men heartily concurred, Mr. and Mrs. Wishard set sail for Europe, April 2, 1888. In Great Britain Wishard's visits to Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, and Glasgow were greatly facilitated by Drummond and Studd. With the help also of Lord Kinnaird, a loyal friend of Moody, a fund was raised which, supplemented by the delegates themselves, would make it possible for eleven students from the colleges of Great Britain to attend the forthcoming Northfield Conference. Dutch students, learning of this plan, asked and were granted the privilege of joining the deputation. The delegates were readily secured, and James B. Reynolds, who had aided the organization of the Berlin Student Young Men's Christian Association, was delegated to act in America as the host of the British and Dutch delegation.

On this trip Wishard became better acquainted with Christian Philidius and Count Pückler, whom he had met at Atlanta in 1885. So deeply interested was Count Pückler that the conviction grew with Wishard that the cultivation of his friendship might mean much to the student movement in Germany. Moved by this consideration, and by the chance to attend the World Conference of the Y.M.C.A. at Stockholm in August, Wishard decided to forego the summer in Northfield and remain in Europe, chiefly in Germany. Important university contacts were made also in Sweden, Switzerland, and France on this trip.¹⁹

How far Wishard's objective for the European delegation to Northfield was realized may be guessed from some of the impressions of the delegation voiced in a letter from one of the group—Norman Smith of Oxford, England. They were grateful to "Mr. Reynolds of Yale, who, on the very day and hour of the eventful boat race had come all the way to New York to bear us kindly greetings from Yale and to request us to go there en route

¹⁹ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 149-157.

for the summer school. Next morning most of us found ourselves amid the elms of New Haven making our first direct acquaintance with American college life and institutions. The most striking feature to all of us was the obvious strength and resources of the College Young Men's Christian Association. We have nothing of the sort in England, where most of us agree to differ and work on denominational lines. At Yale we found many men of many minds all at one in the Young Men's Christian Association, and it was worth coming 3,000 miles to see the handsome and commodious Dwight Hall. . . . It was good to come within the direct influence of the students' Volunteer Missionary Movement, and to meet with Robert Wilder and other enthusiastic spirits. We had heard about it in a dim sort of way, but here it was before us—a movement genuine and far-reaching. Exaggerated statements may have been made, but at the core it is sound and full of infinite promise for the Kingdom of Christ. Then the morning conferences on Young Men's Christian Association work were replete with interest and suggestion. We keenly felt how far we were behind in many of these matters, and our eyes were opened to many possibilities.”²⁰

Of even greater significance than these impressions was the fact that the members of this delegation proved to be most influential in the later building of the British Student Movement. This experience as host to the international delegation also led Reynolds into a very significant position as unofficial representative of the American Movement in the universities of Great Britain and Europe. Wishard returned to America in August, 1888, after an absence of five months, during which he effected a greatly-widened interest in the Student Movements and started international visitation between the Christian students of Europe and America. He was now under commission as college secretary of the World's Committee of the Y.M.C.A. to make his long-coveted journey to the colleges of mission lands—an enterprise which, in the fulfilling of his lifelong missionary purpose, was to change radically his relation to the American Student Movement. From September 18, 1888, to April 20, 1892, Wishard was en-

²⁰ *The Intercollegian*, September, 1888, pp. 6-7.

gaged in this tour of the colleges in foreign missionary countries. In all of these lands foundations were laid during these four years for the student movements that were to become national units in the building of the World's Student Christian Federation.

While Wishard was forming friendships and starting Christian movements among students in the missionary colleges of the world, James B. Reynolds was acting as a "first friend" to student groups in Europe and John R. Mott was beginning his leadership of the work in the American colleges. Thus, between 1888 and 1892, on three continents, under three extremely able but radically different types of men, pioneering work by Americans for a Christian student internationale was going forward.

At the Northfield Conference in 1892, a few weeks after Mr. Wishard's return from his journey to the missionary colleges of the world, he gave a report of some of the outstanding results of his journey in the interests of the expanding student movement.²¹ The purpose had been to ascertain "by careful inquiry whether the time was ripe for the extension of this student movement to the young men of Asia." Nine months of this four years' tour had been spent in Japan. When he arrived there he found that one out of fifteen students in government institutions were professed Christians, "which is more than in American colleges a hundred years ago." When Mr. Wishard left Japan twelve student Associations had been organized; seven of them in government colleges and five in Christian colleges.

In every college visited Wishard told the story of the Mt. Hermon Conference and of the other Christian student conferences and activities carried on by the American Movement. To his surprise he found the Japanese students much interested in duplicating the Northfield Conference idea. Wishard "feared that the time was not ripe" and did not believe the conference would attract more than thirty or forty outside Kyoto. Because of the determination of the students, a conference was called at Doshisha University, Kyoto, which had been founded by Joseph

²¹ The facts given are summarized from a report that appeared in *The Springfield Union* for July 10, 1892. See also, L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 178-212.

Hardy Neesima, a Japanese graduate of Amherst College. To Wishard's amazement this "first Christian gathering of students, indeed the first national student gathering of any character," assembled on June 29, 1889, with five hundred delegates present from twenty-five government and Christian colleges. Many came from great distances: one delegation of twenty-five traveled 250 miles.²² For ten days these five hundred students and professors sat down together under the very eaves of the old palace at Kyoto where for almost one hundred years the Emperors had been imprisoned. So stirred were they by this conference and so possessed by a desire for fellowship with students in other lands that they sent to students assembled in the Northfield Conference a cable challenging students in America to join them in "making Jesus King." "This cable," said Wishard, "expressed the sentiment, purpose, and ambition of that glorious company of young men, the rarest, ripest, best, and most powerful collegians in Japan. From that gathering seventy-five young men went out to spend the entire summer in proclaiming Christ in the cities, villages, and country places of many of the provinces."²³

This Japanese Student Conference was the first summer conference to be held in any country outside America and the beginning of a long series of great summer conferences of Japanese students. The 1893 Japanese Conference was attended by six hundred students, professors, and missionaries—a larger number than had ever been present at any convention in the West, excepting the conventions of the Student Missionary Volunteers in America.²⁴ These prepared the way for the rapid extension of interest in the Student Movement that came in the wake of Mr. Mott's visit to the colleges of Japan in 1896.

In China, Wishard's work was less spectacular and more in the way of foundation laying. He did not feel that the time was quite ripe to press the organization of many student Associations. His time was occupied with scores of conferences with missionaries, Christian students, and others interested in the universities.

²² *The Springfield Union*, July 10, 1892.

²³ *Ibid.*, July 12, 1892.

²⁴ L. D. Wishard, *A New Programme of Missions*, p. 75.

When he left China a half-dozen student Young Men's Christian Associations and one city Young Men's Christian Association had been formed, and he brought to Northfield "a most urgent appeal for two educated young men to go to the great cities of Peking and Shanghai and train the young men in this work."²⁵

It was Wishard's privilege to spend some time in Ceylon witnessing the work that had been done in extending the Young Men's Christian Association in the colleges of Ceylon under the leadership of Frank K. Sanders. From the Association organized in Jaffna College in March, 1884, by Sanders, the Movement had spread into the other colleges of Ceylon; and, in December, 1889, during Wishard's visit, there assembled the first convention of Young Men's Christian Associations ever held in any part of Asia.²⁶ Three hundred and fifty delegates from the colleges and cities and towns of Ceylon were present. The extension of this work in the colleges of Ceylon was all the more remarkable because it had largely been a self-propagating affair, since Sanders had returned to America shortly after the organization of the Association in Jaffna College.

In India Wishard worked with David McConaughy, who was just beginning his work for the Y.M.C.A. in Madras. As a result of these college meetings Wishard said: "Every missionary there sees the burning need in both government and Christian colleges for an aggressive propagation of Christianity. . . . Mr. McConaughy has begun a most difficult work, planning an intelligent, aggressive Christian movement among the young men of Madras and an organization of two to three hundred has there been built up. They want the duplication of this movement in other cities. They have organized it upon a national basis and last February held their first convention, with Mr. McConaughy as the secretary."²⁷

Wishard's own skill in dealing with Indian students may be judged from the following quotation from his addresses in Indian colleges.

²⁵ *The Springfield Union*, July 12, 1892.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

"Fellow-Students: Thirty centuries ago our Aryan fathers dwelt together as brothers in the same tents in the table lands of central Asia. After many centuries of fellowship they separated. Our fathers journeyed westward and overspread Europe, and finally reached the then undiscovered country, America. Your fathers journeyed down the slopes of the Himalayas and peopled Hindustan. We have come to know in recent years that we are brothers, that the same racial blood unites us; and we had a great longing to see you and renew the old associations which our fathers had in their tent life a hundred generations ago. We wish to share with you all that we have learned during the long separation of our people. The best thing we can bring back to you is a share in the priceless gift which Asia's young men sent to our fathers many centuries ago. Some of you have already had your lives enriched by it. We long to see all of our kindred in possession of it. We come to tell you how a great passion has taken hold upon students in America and Europe to extend the influence of that life unto the uttermost parts of the earth. Will you not join us in this purpose and endeavor?"²⁸

When Mr. Wishard arrived in Persia, he found at Oroomiah, "the center of that interesting Nestorian field," a band of students who had already organized themselves into a Young Men's Christian Association and who wanted the American colleges to send help to them.²⁹ More than one hundred young men joined with Wishard in a two-day conference "considering methods of Christian work and possible extension of their work throughout Persia."³⁰ Wishard also found "in the far heart of Turkestan a Young Men's Christian Association conference of students" under the leadership of a young man from Harvard.³¹

Summarizing this tour, Mr. Wishard said that there were "now thirty-eight Young Men's Christian Associations in Asia."³² It is a remarkable thing," he said, "that nearly two thousand students are gathered this year in meetings in Japan, India, Ceylon, Germany, Turkestan, and Scandinavia. With the little groups in

²⁸ L. D. Wishard, *A New Programme of Missions*, pp. 72-73.

²⁹ *The Springfield Union*, July 12, 1892.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

England it certainly has become a fact that the Movement begun in this country has spread around the world."³³

The tour consumed forty-five months, over thirty-one of which were devoted to Japan, China, Malaysia, Siam, Burma, Ceylon, India, Arabia, Syria, the Caucasus, Persia, Kurdistan, Asia Minor, and Cyprus. A month was spent in Egypt, and two months in Europe. Two hundred and sixteen mission stations in twenty mission lands were visited, the tour covering not only the points adjacent to the coast, but many important points in the interior, the latter involving overland travel as far as from New York to San Francisco. One journey of over a thousand miles was made in the saddle, the route being from the southern boundary line of Russia across northwestern Persia, Kurdistan, and Asia Minor to the Mediterranean Sea. At least nine hundred and sixty missionaries were met personally, beside three hundred others who were publicly addressed. Thousands of students were addressed publicly and hundreds talked with at most of the leading educational centers in the East. Numerous interviews were held with oriental business men, government officials, pastors, and church members. No effort was spared to get at the exact facts concerning the condition of the new Church in Asia, and to gauge the ripeness of the time for the organization of this new department of Christian enterprise.³⁴

Speaking at the Universities' Congress at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 of the responsiveness of the students of Asia, Wishard further said:

"At the close of a series of addresses followed by personal interviews in the Doshisha University in Kyoto, one hundred and three students in one day were, after careful examination, admitted to the Church, and forty more on the next communion Sabbath; thirty took a similar stand at the Union College in Tokyo, and twenty-five in the preparatory school in Kumamoto. Seven students made a public confession of Christ in the Methodist College in Foochow, China. There were also conversions in colleges in India, Ceylon, and Asia Minor sufficient to justify the belief

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ L. D. Wishard, *A New Programme of Missions*, p. 51.

that a widespread and well-organized evangelistic movement, under the auspices of the Association, conducted by the students themselves, will be most fruitful in results. I have never known of an all-night students' prayer meeting in America, but such a meeting was held during my visit in Kumamoto, unknown to me until the following morning. The students of Asia are ripe for organization. There are already forty-two Students' Young Men's Christian Associations in Asia, fifteen of which are in Japan, eleven of them in Japanese government colleges; the balance are scattered through China, India, Ceylon, Syria, Persia, Kurdistan, and Asia Minor."³⁵

With the completion of this first great pioneering mission among the students of the world it became apparent that Wishard's work as a "prospector" for the Student Christian Movement was leading in two divergent although not antagonistic directions. The first result was, as Wishard had hoped, the releasing of influences leading to the extension of the Student Movement around the world, thereby laying foundations for national student movements and preparing the way for the later organization under Mott's leadership of the World's Student Christian Federation. Second, it made imperative the creation by the American Young Men's Christian Association of a Foreign Department, thus putting on Wishard the obligation for the home leadership of that Foreign Department and at the same time diverting him from the direct leadership of the Student Movement to which he had given himself so unreservedly.

While the development of the American Association work in foreign countries was bound to lead increasingly to the extension of the work of the Student Movement in these lands, it led also in the direction of the building up of national indigenous Young Men's Christian Associations in all these countries, with all of the financial and administrative problems involved in any other piece of foreign missionary service.

The most serious and immediate problem confronting Wishard on his return from his foreign missionary journey was that of

³⁵ L. D. Wishard, *The Christian Movement in the Universities of America, Europe, and Asia*, pp. 34-35.

providing an intelligent understanding of the significance of this work in foreign lands on the part of American Associations and thus leading to the discovery of an adequate basis of support for the work. This problem of finding an adequate financial basis for the support of foreign work seemed to be one that none could meet so well as Wishard himself. Beyond a doubt Wishard, on his return from this missionary journey, expected to carry forward in a position more immediately a part of the American Student Movement. Under the remarkable leadership of Mott and a growing group of able associates the American student work was prospering beyond Wishard's fondest hopes, making his personal leadership no longer indispensable to its success. Moreover, his pioneering of the Association program in foreign lands, with the resultant demands from missionaries and nationals that this work go forward, made the choice that of either deserting a work to which, then, no one else was competent to give leadership, or else giving himself wholly to the problems of this new work.

Following the trail marked out for him by his missionary passion, Wishard had opened up to the Young Men's Christian Association a great field into which the Movement was being called by all the missionary agencies of the Church. For himself he had created a new and inescapable realm for Christian pioneering leadership. Prior to the missionary journey Wishard had had but little experience in money raising.³⁶ The great burden of the money raising had been carried for him by the General Secretary of the International Committee, Mr. Richard C. Morse, and by other members of the staff and International Committee. He was now plunged into a job which called upon him to develop and use large administrative and money-raising gifts. If he failed to do this then the work that he had begun in the foreign lands must disappear. Faced with these alternatives, Wishard after much prayer and consultation made his choice, accepting as "the call of God" the position of the first administrative secretary of the Foreign Department of the Young Men's Christian Associa-

³⁶ Letter from Richard C. Morse to C. P. Shedd.

tion, thus ending the years of his prophetic trail-blazing work for the American Student Y.M.C.A.

These years of pioneering for a world-wide Student Christian Movement laid foundations and taught lessons of great importance. Wishard's evangelizing missionary leadership colored with a missionary and international outlook all the thinking and leadership of students and professors who made up the Student Movement. This international and missionary passion of the Movement gave birth both to the Student Volunteer Movement and to the foreign work of the Y.M.C.A. Wishard's contacts with students and professors in Europe and Great Britain greatly strengthened developing indigenous Christian movements, but also convinced these same leaders that the American Y.M.C.A. was unsuitable as a vehicle for the Christian movement in the colleges. Some basis for world-wide student Christian federation other than the extension of the American Student Y.M.C.A. into the universities of Europe had to be found if the goal was to be achieved.

Finally, Wishard's foreign missionary tour laid foundations for national student Christian movements out of which the general national Young Men's Christian Association movements were to evolve. Thus were laid the beginnings of the foreign Y.M.C.A. program; thus also it was assured that the student movements in these countries would be, as in America, related both to the Young Men's Christian Association and to the World Student Movement.

EUROPEAN BEGINNINGS *

EVIDENCE has been given in Chapter V of the activity of Christian student societies in European universities in the first half of the nineteenth century. Letters from European students of this period make clear that the desire for world Christian student solidarity was as real in Europe as in America. The Theological Missionary Association in the University of Glasgow, writing in 1824 to the students of Andover (unaware apparently of the existence of the Andover Society of Inquiry), congratulate their friends at Andover and "all lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the time seems now to be approaching, when national and ecclesiastical distinctions shall no longer intercept the communion and coöperation of the people of God, but they shall again, in some measure, see eye to eye, and cordially unite, at least in spirit and in affection. And as there can be little doubt, that the partial restoration of this, which we now enjoy, is chiefly owing to the simplicity of the objects, and the motives of Missionary Enterprise," they believe this to be a movement of God because it "will gradually remove those obstacles which prejudice and igno-

* This chapter has been revised on the basis of careful criticisms made during the summer of 1931 by Canon Tissington Tatlow, until recently General Secretary of the British Student Christian Movement, and the Misses Ruth Rouse and Una Saunders, both former secretaries of the British Movement and the World's Student Christian Federation. The final revisions were made before the appearance in 1934 of Canon Tatlow's book *The Story of the Student Christian Movement*. I wish here to acknowledge my indebtedness to these three British friends, and especially to Canon Tatlow for the careful criticisms made of this and succeeding chapters, and especially for the help on the history of the British Student Christian Movement. I am also greatly indebted to these three friends for careful reading of the entire manuscript of this book. So far as possible, the criticisms which they gave me in personal conference and in written memoranda have been met in the final revision.—*Author*.

rance of each other have, for so many ages, thrown in the way of Christian fellowship and coöperation, and by fixing the attention of Christians upon the great leading truths of Christianity, points of minor importance shall gradually diminish, till returning to their proper level, the churches shall again return to the fellowship of the saints." With these convictions shared by Andover they feel "it is presuming that we are both equally wishful to see such a time, and that we are already prepared to unite together our prayers and exertions in promoting the interests of our common Master, that we have thus ventured as we now do, to propose a correspondence between the friends of Missions at Andover, and ourselves of the Theological College of the University of Glasgow. To make you, however, more acquainted with your proposed correspondents and their views in this, it may be proper to inform you, that in 1821 it was thought advisable by some of us, to express the interest which we felt in what was going on among the nations, by contributing our mite toward the support of Missions in general. Besides this, however, we were of opinion, that the establishment of a Missionary Association, within the walls of the University, might tend, in some measure, to excite and maintain a missionary spirit among the students in general. This appeared to us of much importance, as at least a third of the pulpits in Scotland are usually filled by the alumni of this University, and perhaps a still higher proportion of our parish teachers and other instructors, are of the same description. The experience of the Committee only confirms them in this opinion of the importance of the Association, and they feel anxious to increase if possible, the influence of it. One of the means by which they propose to effect this is the opening of a correspondence with similar associations, both at home and abroad."

The work of Wishard in Europe and Asia hastened the beginnings of those indigenous national movements, which were an essential prerequisite for the creation of a world-wide federation of Christian students. In their origins, however, the European movements were quite as spontaneous and indigenous as the American one and would have developed even had there been no American movement. A glance at some of the steps involved in

the development of the British Student Movement confirms this. The Cambridge Church Missionary Society was formed in 1858, the year of the first Student Young Men's Christian Association at the University of Virginia. A daily prayer meeting was started in 1862. "In 1875 the Cambridge Intercollegiate Christian Union was formed, which united the Student Christian Societies of Cambridge."¹

On March 9, 1877, the first intercollegiate conference of students in Oxford and Cambridge was held. As a result of this meeting a Christian Union at Cambridge was formed in 1878 and at Oxford in 1879. This was the beginning of the series of intercollegiate conferences. It is rather significant that in the very year when Princeton students were promoting the intercollegiate organization of the Christian work in the colleges, the same idea should have been under discussion by the students of Oxford and Cambridge. Although the Oxford and Cambridge students were writing only of intercollegiate fellowship between these two institutions, the idea nevertheless was the same as that which dominated the Princeton group.

In the autumn of 1884 Cambridge was startled by the announcement that Stanley Smith and C. T. Studd, who had been converted in Moody's meetings in 1882, were going out as missionaries. The one had "stroked" the Cambridge Eight; the other had been captain of the Cambridge Eleven. These two men were soon joined by five others to form a little band known as "the Cambridge Seven."² In Edinburgh on December 10, 1884, Studd and Smith told their story in a very remarkable student meeting, at the close of which "several stood out to signify their willingness to spend their lives in God's service and others crowded around the speakers, eager to learn from them the secret of their joy and peace in Christ."³

Thus was begun a great student revival in Edinburgh to which,

¹ Tissington Tatlow, "The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland: Its Beginnings," *The Student World*, July, 1923, pp. 105-106.

² J. H. Oldham, *The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

between 1884 and 1894, Professor Henry Drummond gave such whole-hearted leadership that "he shut himself off from the pulpits of his church, denied his friends, turned from the public, and endured infinite misrepresentation, if only he might make sure of the students."⁴ Under these influences the deputations to other colleges were sent out; started also was the Holiday Mission Movement, the story of which Drummond later shared with the American college students. Says J. H. Oldham: "To Drummond's work and Drummond's missions and to men influenced by them, the student movement of the present day is largely indebted, both in America and Great Britain."⁵

To understand the American influence on the history of British and Continental movements it is necessary to know something of the European work of James B. Reynolds (Yale, 1884), whom Wishard in 1888 had asked to serve as the host of the delegation from the British and Dutch universities to Northfield. During Wishard's summer of 1888 in Germany, he became acquainted with a Miss Jane Howard, a Scotch lady, who for twelve years had been living in Paris with the idea of making her home a center for students in the Latin Quarter. She had not been satisfied with the results of her work and she wrote Wishard, urging him to visit Paris. As he could not do that, he wrote to Miss Howard, suggesting that the student problem in Paris was complex enough to engage the energies of a full-time man and that he believed he knew of a man who was qualified for the work.

Miss Howard's response made possible the calling of James B. Reynolds to this work. For three years, from Paris as headquarters, Reynolds was a kind of ambassador extraordinary for the student movement on the Continent and in Great Britain.⁶ He had the great advantage of not being directly employed for this task by the Young Men's Christian Association; his was an independent piece of work with the students in the Latin Quarter. His previous contacts with students in Great Britain and Ger-

⁴ J. H. Oldham, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶ L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History*, pp. 158-60.

many, his knowledge of the American Movement, and his own splendid cultural background made him *persona grata* for gatherings of Christian students and professors. Reynolds helped student groups initiate local and intercollegiate plans but, even more important, he made available to these students the friendship and resources of the American Movement. In his first letter to American friends, Reynolds discussed methods of work in the British universities, noting that "the only religious conference sustained by students is held annually between Oxford and Cambridge." As a result of friendships made at the Northfield Student Conference in 1888 Edinburgh was invited in the autumn of 1888 to send delegates to the Oxford and Cambridge conference—and accepted this invitation. Aside from this intercollegiate fellowship, the universities carried on their work independently: "each generally knows nothing of what is being done by the others." Because of Drummond's influence the deputations or "holiday missions" had become a distinguishing characteristic of the early Christian work in the universities of Great Britain, every university having "bands of men carrying on missions and holding open-air meetings while many students take up special work for the summer vacation." Mr. Reynolds concludes by saying that, just as in the American intercollegiate work, each college Association has gained much from the experience and ideas of other colleges, although it has not always been wise for one to "copy exactly" the methods of another, so he believes that through fellowship and discussion with the students of other countries regarding "our common work" there will come to both sides much "encouragement, inspiration, and suggestion for various lines of Christian effort."

In the autumn of 1889 Reynolds made his first tour of the Scandinavian colleges.⁷ At the University of Christiania he found a student body of two thousand. The moral atmosphere of the university he regarded as very good. "Temperance," he says, "has made a good deal of progress in Norway and it is not uncommon to meet with total abstainers, even among the students." The university had experienced during the previous semester a great reli-

⁷ *The Intercollegian*, December, 1889, pp. 40-41.

gious awakening. Like that of the Princeton University campus in the autumn of 1886, this awakening had its beginnings with a small group of university students. This group had grown week by week, until "at the last gathering there were over three hundred, and many gave their testimony that they had there learned to know Christ."⁸

A students' missionary society had been formed, and had already sent fraternal greetings to the students working under Drummond's leadership in Edinburgh. These students had already "caught the idea of a students' conference" and Reynolds "spent most of an evening talking the matter over and giving them the benefit of our experience."⁹

In Stockholm, Mr. Reynolds met Dr. Karl Fries, the able and efficient secretary of the city Young Men's Christian Association. The friendship formed here with Reynolds, and later with Wishard and Mott, was the beginning of Karl Fries' lifelong devotion to the world-wide work of the Student Christian Movement. At Upsala he had the "privilege of addressing an audience of about a hundred students and following this meeting held a parlor conference with the students in which they discussed together, in German, the mutual interests of Christian students in all lands."¹⁰ As early as 1879 there had been a student society at Upsala which met for Bible study, prayer, and discussion.¹¹

Mr. Reynolds' next student visit was at Lund in southern Sweden, where he spent a day and night "meeting some grand Christian men." Very great interest was shown in an address that he gave on "Student Christian Activity in Many Lands," and many questions were asked at the close of this address. He comments on the extreme cordiality of these students. After the meeting half a dozen "went to a restaurant with me where we had a little spread by ourselves. Then they came to my room, where we chatted till nearly midnight. Though I left at seven in the morning, six of them came to the train to see me off. The

⁸ *The Intercollegian*, December, 1889, pp. 40-41.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

only thing which I missed at the train was the familiar college yell, a thing unknown here and relegated to barbarism, but often missed by one who has felt its cheering power.”¹²

At the University of Denmark, in Copenhagen, Reynolds found more than two thousand students, a number of whom had recently entered into city mission work. Reynolds spoke briefly in German, telling of the Student Volunteer Movement and the Northfield Conference. When he had finished speaking the audience rose spontaneously and remained standing until he took his seat.

Reynolds was greatly impressed by the earnest, spiritual life of many of the students whom he met on this Scandinavian tour. In every university he presented the invitation to “attend our World’s Student Conference at Northfield,” an invitation which was so enthusiastically received that Reynolds left the Scandinavian field feeling sure of a delegation to the Northfield Conference of 1890.¹³

Following the Scandinavian tour, Reynolds was invited to attend an intercollegiate Christian student conference held at Oxford, December 7-9, 1889. This Oxford Conference marked a great step towards the formation of the British Student Movement.¹⁴ It brought together representatives from Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Dublin, and Glasgow, with Reynolds as an invited guest from America. In the Sunday-afternoon meeting of this conference plans were drawn up and approved for a student conference to be held in England during the following summer. The subject of the Sunday-evening discussion was the “Aim and Scope of a University Christian Union.”¹⁵ Among the suggestions brought out were “those relating to work through university settlements, religious missions or deputations, personal religious work with undergraduates, the formation of a general university committee, and the need for some kind of magazine as an organ of information and communication.” No formal organi-

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, February, 1890, pp. 71-72.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

zation was effected at this meeting. Out of this conference had come the invitation to Forman and Wilder to share with British students the story of the Student Volunteer Movement, leading, as we shall see, to the formation in Great Britain of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union.

In December, 1889, he made a visit to Prague, arriving just after a student society had been suppressed for sending a message to the students of the University of Paris in which they spoke in "too appreciative" a manner of the republican form of government. He was obliged to do his work in Prague with students individually. He found them much interested and they "expressed a longing that their Christian students might be drawn together in a similar band of fellowship."¹⁶

He found in Berlin a German Students' Department of the city Young Men's Christian Association, with a student membership of about one hundred. He met with the students and gave them an invitation to be represented at Northfield. While in Berlin Reynolds became acquainted with the Anglo-American Students' Christian League, which had been formed in Berlin in July of 1889. The aim of this League was the advancement of "the moral and spiritual welfare of young men." Its membership was open to all English and American young men in Berlin who were in sympathy with the object of the society.¹⁷

The summers of 1889 and 1890 witnessed the first summer student conferences outside the United States—in Japan, Great Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia.

The conference for German students was held August 5-9, 1890, at Miski, a Moravian settlement about one hundred miles from Berlin. The universities of Bonn, Halle, Breslau, Greifswald, and Berlin were represented by fifty students. The conference followed much the same plan as Northfield and its spirit was "serious and thoughtful." There was much more of a tendency toward theological debate than characterized the American conference and an even larger place was given to Bible study.

Berlin was the only university that had any general Christian

¹⁶ *The Intercollegian*, March, 1890, pp. 89-90.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

organization of students. Several of the universities, however, reported the existence of student missionary societies which were very much like the old missionary societies in the American colleges. Such themes as missions, Bible study, and personal religious testimony were of central interest.¹⁸

The Scandinavian Conference met at Hillerød, about twenty miles from Copenhagen. This conference was much larger than the German Student Conference, bringing together as it did 170 students. The University of Christiania was represented by sixty-three students, a delegation which Reynolds regarded as larger than any which had "yet come to Northfield from any of our own universities." Twenty-three students were present from Upsala and Lund in Sweden, and seventy-seven, including a few pastors and professors, from Copenhagen.

Commenting on the significance of this first Scandinavian Conference, Reynolds said: "I believe these gatherings are signs of the awakening of warmer, freer religious life among the educated young men in Europe and I trust that some similar signs may appear in other countries where the same spirit is beginning to be felt."¹⁹

During his three years of European student work Reynolds not only directed the Paris center for American students but also visited forty-four universities and was present and helped to carry through the first two or three summer conferences in many of these countries. Students from England, Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, France, Holland, and Germany had been recruited by Reynolds for attendance at the World's Student Conference at Northfield.

Reynolds returned to America to become the head worker in the university settlement of New York, a movement that had come to American cities largely because of its development among the students of Great Britain and the Continent. The idea of the movement was "to gather small groups of university men in one of the poorest quarters of the city in which they live."²⁰ This

¹⁸ *The Intercollegian*, October, 1890, p. 8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, November, 1890, pp. 23-24.

²⁰ *Yale University Y.M.C.A. Record*, June, 1894.

movement, which Reynolds felt was to be one of the great contributions of British students to the American Student Movement, sought to "impart a new motive, the Christian motive of life, but also to teach people how to live, believing this to be essential and that without such aid religious exhortation to the poor is little more than mockery."

One of the things that impressed Reynolds most in his contact with the European universities was the ignorance on the part of one university of what students in neighboring universities were doing along the line of voluntary religious activities. Reynolds was "surprised" because the first request of students would be for information about these activities in the neighboring universities. His protest that such a story on his part was an "impertinence" was always overruled and he found that he was immediately "accepted as an authority" and besieged with numerous questions with regard to life in the sister universities—questions that were quite as searching as those asked with regard to the American Intercollegiate Movement.²¹

Comparing the developing Christian student movement in Europe with that in America, Reynolds says, "We find in Europe stronger thought, in America greater practical efficiency. Each has contributed of its best to the other. The example of Christian union among our university men through the college Young Men's Christian Association has done much to bring the Christian students of Europe together." The formation, two years later, of the World's Student Christian Federation made possible the answering of Reynolds' plea that we "keep open avenues of communication, earnestly seeking the best results of our own active and changing life."²²

Reynolds' name is almost unknown to the present-day Student Movement. Although the evidence is scattered and scanty there seems to be strong reason for believing that his unofficial, quiet, friendly sharing of American Student Movement experience and

²¹ J. B. Reynolds, *The Christian Movement in the Universities of America, Europe, and Asia*, pp. 19-20.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 24-27.

his facility for encouraging awakenings of Christian student groups and helping them develop along the lines of their national genius, had much to do with the growth of a distinctive European student Christian fellowship which was essential for any world federation of students. Originally sent to Europe for work with American students in the Latin Quarter of Paris, he was so useful to the development of Christian movements on the Continent and in Great Britain, that his leadership and counsel seems to have been sought by all of them.

Another American Movement influence which profoundly effected and hastened national organizations of the Student Christian Movements in Great Britain and on the Continent, was the American student missionary awakening, culminating in the Student Volunteer Movement. Just as the influence of the "Cambridge Seven" lighted fires of missionary enthusiasm among American college students, so this later movement of God's spirit among students in America quickly overleaped all geographical boundaries and became a great force for international student Christian solidarity.

In the autumn of 1887 Wilder and Forman were invited to Great Britain to tell the story of the Mt. Hermon missionary awakening. Wilder was unable to accept, but Forman visited a number of British colleges at the expense of American students. One of the colleges visited by Forman was Aberystwyth, which two years previously had been the scene of a great spiritual awakening. Four students volunteered for missionary service. About a year after Forman's visit, one of these four began the study of medicine at the London Hospital, where he found a strong Christian Association with a keen missionary interest. This student was Karl Walfredsson, a Swede. Walfredsson became the center of a little group in which the conviction grew that a missionary movement similar to the Student Volunteer Movement was needed in the British colleges. At a meeting of fifteen hundred students, held in London, October 15, 1889, the Student Foreign Missionary Union was formed and Walfredsson became its General Secretary. Thus Walfredsson, a Swede, influenced by Forman, an American, became the General Secretary of the first

organized intercollegiate religious effort in Great Britain. Of this fact Mr. Oldham said: "This is not the last time that the British Movement has been helped and strengthened by the self-sacrifice and loving service of students of other nations."²³

The objects of this newly-found union were:²⁴

"*First*, to band together students that felt called to foreign missionary work.

"*Second*, to urge the claims of the Heathen upon Christian students everywhere and to advocate the formation of missionary Associations in connection with universities and colleges where they do not already exist." By the end of six months, 142 students had signed the declaration which formed the basis of membership for the Union: "It is my earnest hope, if God permit, to engage in foreign missionary work."²⁵

In 1891, Robert Wilder on his way to India accepted the invitation to meet with British students at a summer conference at Keswick. Early in this conference Donald Fraser had been led to a deepened personal faith in Christ, and on Saturday morning, during Wilder's missionary meeting, he felt "that God called him to the missionary field." Wilder, reporting this meeting, said: "After that thirteen-minute address which I gave on Saturday morning, Fraser insisted on my coming to Glasgow University, and Professor Drummond's secretary invited me to Edinburgh, and Rennie MacInnes, who is now the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, invited me to Cambridge, where he was studying. So after a good deal of thought and prayer, I decided to delay going to India long enough to visit the leading British universities."²⁶

That summer Wilder spent in Norway and had his first opportunity to address Norwegian students. In Norway and Denmark he was able also to give leadership which brought about the beginnings of the Student Volunteer Movement in those coun-

²³ J. H. Oldham, *The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 13.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁶ *The Student Volunteer*, December, 1926, p. 71.

tries. He returned to England to accept the invitations that had been given at Keswick for a tour including Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and London. Of this tour of the colleges in Great Britain, Mr. Oldham says:

"Mr. Wilder's earnest appeals in the colleges were listened to with much attention and searching of heart. By undertaking this work at a time so critical, Mr. Wilder has conferred a lasting benefit upon British students. In Cambridge he left a permanent mark. The missionary interest in the university was strong and some of the undergraduates had already decided to become foreign missionaries. The flame of missionary zeal kindled by the departure of the 'Cambridge Seven' was still burning brightly and several bands for missionary study were in existence.

"Wilder's visit fanned the flame. The simplicity and possibilities of the Student Volunteer Movement attracted men. Wilder's addresses and conferences led to many decisions for foreign missionary service and within a few weeks a Student Volunteer group at Cambridge had been organized, consisting of those who signed the declaration used in the Mt. Hermon Conference in America. . . ." ²⁷

The widespread interest convinced Wilder and British friends that the time had come for the organization of a British Student Volunteer Movement, wider in its scope than the Student Foreign Missionary Union had been or could hope to be. In April, 1892, the students of Edinburgh took the initiative in calling an intercollegiate conference to discuss this question. Mr. Wilder represented the American Movement and, in the absence of Professor Drummond, was made chairman of this meeting. Delegates were present from the Student Foreign Missionary Union of London, the newly-formed Student Volunteer Union in Cambridge University,²⁸ and several other university Unions. The result of this conference was the merging of the Student Foreign Missionary Union in a new movement called the Student Volun-

²⁷ J. H. Oldham, *The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp. 14-15.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

teer Missionary Union of Great Britain and Ireland.²⁹ The Reverend A. T. Polhill-Turner, one of the "Cambridge Seven," was called to be the Movement's first traveling secretary.

Four of the Student Volunteers, including two members of the Executive Committee, Mr. O. O. Williams of London University and Louis Byrde of Cambridge, attended the Northfield Conference of 1892, and the Mt. Hermon Conference, and shared in the discussion which then was under way both in Great Britain and America with regard to a change in the wording of the declaration used by the American Movement up to that time. The declaration, which had been that of the Princeton group prior to Mt. Hermon, read: "I am *willing* and *desirous*, God permitting, to become a foreign missionary."

The experience of the six years since the missionary awakening at Mt. Hermon had convinced the American Student Volunteer Movement of the necessity of a stronger declaration of purpose. The students who had signed the old declaration and had never made their dominating life purpose foreign missionary service, were so numerous that the fact tended to bring the pledge into disrepute. This was especially true of the hundreds who signed during what Wilder has since called the year of "infuriation"—1886-1887.

After much study and discussion the British and American delegates at Northfield agreed to the following as the new pledge for volunteers: "It is my purpose if God permit to become a foreign missionary."³⁰

Mr. O. O. Williams, of London University, told the Northfield delegates of the spread of the movement. In Scotland there were 108 volunteers, 40 of them in Glasgow; in England and Scotland 300, including 30 at Cambridge and 23 at Oxford. "The new Volunteer Movement is rapidly becoming the unifying force in the Christian life of British students."³¹

However, it was not all smooth sailing for the new movement.

²⁹ J. H. Oldham, *The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 160.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

³¹ *The Springfield Union*, July 7, 1892.

Some of the earlier volunteers had lost their initial hope "of going abroad as missionaries."³² Local branches of the Volunteer Union lacked a clear conception of the significance, extent, and possibilities of the movement to which they belonged. The visits of its traveling secretary during the first few months made clear that the Union was "under a serious disadvantage through the lack of preparation in the colleges for the work. The claims of foreign missions are not likely to be recognized where the claims of Jesus Christ on the individual life are not accepted; nevertheless in the majority of our colleges there was as yet no organized effort to bring the claims of Jesus Christ before the students."³³

In the light of all these facts the executive of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union decided to summon a conference of students at Keswick in July, 1893, "for the purpose of united consultation and waiting upon God" and for the consideration of a proposal which had been repeatedly urged by the delegates to the student conferences in America, namely: "To found an Intercollegiate Christian Union with the object of deepening the spiritual life of those students who were already Christians and extending the Kingdom of Christ to others."³⁴

Twenty colleges were represented at Keswick by one hundred delegates. After long and serious discussion this proposal was agreed to and the Inter-university Christian Union was formed. Thus, out of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, which was essentially a student foreign missionary organization, came the Inter-university Christian Union, "a Movement which from the beginning and more and more as it has developed, has had a marked influence in extending Christ's Kingdom among the students in this country."³⁵

During the first year of its life twenty Christian unions affiliated with the new movement. In 1894 the second student con-

³² J. H. Oldham, *The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 20.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

ference at Keswick was held under the joint auspices of this new Movement and the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. One hundred and seventy-five delegates, representing forty different colleges in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Germany, France, Holland, America, and South Africa, were present—"the most representative gathering of college men and women that has yet been held in Great Britain."³⁶

At this conference, Donald Fraser, whose foreign missionary decision had been made in Wilder's meeting, was called to be the first traveling secretary of the new movement. Central offices in London were shared by this movement and the Student Volunteer Missionary Union.

"During a period of eight weeks at the close of 1894, more Christian Unions were formed than during the preceding eight years."³⁷ Inasmuch as colleges of many different types began to be affiliated with this new movement, the name Inter-university Christian Union seemed misleading. Accordingly at the third Student Conference at Keswick in 1895 the name of the movement was changed to British College Christian Union. Its objects as stated were very similar to those of the American Movement.

At this 1895 conference the movement faced the problem of the relationship of women students to this new organization. Seventy-one women students, representing thirty-four institutions, had accepted the invitation to this Third Student Conference. The problem was met by putting representative women students on the executive committee of both the British College Union (Dr. Lene Stuart) and the Student Volunteer Missionary Movement (Agnes de Sëlincourt), thus taking into the British Collegiate Christian Union the Women's Intercollegiate Christian Union. Also, a theological section of the student movement was formed with a special traveling secretary. Ruth Rouse, of Girton College, Cambridge, was elected editor of *The Student Volunteer*. In 1896 Miss Rouse became a secretary of the movement and in this and her later connection as first woman secre-

³⁶ J. H. Oldham, *The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 26.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

tary of the World's Student Christian Federation, exerted profound influence on the growth of the student movement throughout the world. It was quite natural for Agnes de Sélincourt and Ruth Rouse to become leading spirits in the women's side of the work. They had been friends and fellow-students together at Girton.

At the summer conference in 1898 the work of the British College Christian Union and Student Volunteer Missionary Union was united in the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland, a movement with three departments: college, missionary, and theological. To the general secretaryship of this combined movement was called, in 1898, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who during the year previous had given remarkable leadership as traveling secretary of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union—now the Rev. Canon Tissington Tatlow, D.D., affectionately known by Student Movement leaders throughout the world as "T." Tatlow continued as general secretary until 1929 and as editor of *The Student Movement* until 1933. If you would see his monument, you must look for it in the extraordinary position held by the British Movement in the university and religious life of Great Britain and in the lives of thousands of former "gone down" members of the movement who are trying to live out the ideals of the movement in every corner of the British Empire and the world. His recent book (1933), *The Story of the Student Christian Movement*, is both a history of the movement and his own autobiography.

The organization of a strong British Student Movement was essential to the formation of a strong World's Student Christian Federation. Although national movements had developed in Germany and Scandinavia before 1895 and there were beginnings in other countries, both in Europe and Asia, yet none of them was strong enough to have reinforced adequately the American Movement in its desire for world federation.

With the spread of this student movement idea into many lands, the only thing essential for a world-wide federation of students was the will for it and the creative idea to make it pos-

sible. The idea was another American contribution—the gift of the spiritual and organizational genius of John R. Mott, who during these years of world development had, as the leader of the American Movement, been gaining recognition as the outstanding religious leader of the student life of the world.

THE WORLD'S STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION

WE have been following the trail of a dynamic and expansive idea. The banding together of Christian students in religious societies seems to be as indigenous to the colleges and universities as is the class-room itself. In its expression both the form and content of this idea varies in different countries and with each succeeding student generation.

It was not until this idea of voluntary societies was united with the passion for "carrying religion into the sphere of the daily occupation"—which was the dominating characteristic of the growing league of Young Men's Christian Associations—that these societies came to be powerful forces for personal and social righteousness among American college students. The group of students at the University of Virginia who in 1858 organized the first student Young Men's Christian Association made a contribution of incalculable significance both to religion and education.

We have seen the ferment of this idea so possess a little group of Princeton students that their God-directed leadership led to the banding together of these student societies in an intercollegiate movement which carried both the method and the message of this Christian youth movement to every college in the land. It was only a few years after the organization of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association that Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock of Union Theological Seminary said: "The omnipresence—and I had almost said the omnipotence—of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association is the great fact in the religious life of our colleges today."¹

The early fusing of the missionary motive with the evangeliz-

¹ J. R. Mott, *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest*, p. 27.

ing passion gave to the movement a radiance and a conquering power reminiscent of the crusading ideals of the early Christian centuries. Out of this soil grew both the Student Volunteer Movement and the determination to achieve a world-wide union of Christian students.

Although the fires lighted by the Virginia-Michigan and Princeton students spread until in 1895 there were Christian Associations for men in most colleges in the land and a great parallel Christian movement among women students, yet this geographical extension of the movement was not the most marked characteristic of its growth and power. Its most striking evidence of God's leadership was to be found in its inclusiveness. In its membership were to be found students coming out of every section of the life of the Christian Church and many Christian students unaffiliated with any church, all together giving dramatic evidence of the essential unity of the Church of Christ. "It is a mitigation," said Dr. Roswell Hitchcock, "of the deplorable effect of our too-disintegrated Protestantism."²

From a very simple program, with little specialized technique, the local Association and intercollegiate movement program had grown until by 1895 it was demonstrating methods of approach to the religious idealism of youth through Bible study, evangelism, missionary education, intercollegiate conferences, and community service—methods which later were incorporated into the religious education programs of the churches and of the college curriculum.

Beginning spontaneously at a time when all colleges were small and succeeding immediately both in state and denominational colleges, this intercollegiate movement had demonstrated its adaptability to institutions of types differing as radically as theological schools, medical and law schools, big city universities, state universities, denominational colleges, preparatory schools, and normal schools. It had raised a great body of laymen, ministers, and missionaries for the work of the Church of Christ in all lands.

An idea so dynamic, so international and missionary, and so

² L. D. Wishard, *A New Programme of Missions*, p. 85.

fruitful in the extension of the kingdom of God could not long be confined to any one land. Hence there came the spontaneous, indigenous development of similar student Christian movements in Asia and Europe. The part of the American Movement in giving "aid and comfort" through fellowship and leadership to these new movements is quite apparent. It seems clear, however, that, if there had been no American Movement to act as first friend, some national student movement would have developed in these countries.

Even this development of national movements did not make inevitable an early world-wide union of Christian students, since experience had proved that because of widely-differing church, theological, and university situations these movements were to vary greatly in characteristics, methods of work, and relationships. Before international organization could be a fact some more vital basis for union than that advocated by Wishard had to be discovered—a basis which did not seem to force American ideas and ways of doing things on other countries.

Toward the latter part of 1894 this creative idea began to emerge. It was that instead of trying, as Wishard had done, to build a world-wide student movement under the Y.M.C.A. and through a missionary extension of the Young Men's Christian Association, this world movement would have to be a "federation of diverse types of autonomous national movements." It was not to be "a merging or a consolidation of old organizations, but a union or federation of student movements, each of which preserves its independence and individuality."

This plan was based on the conviction that, instead of attempting "to effect such a union in the name and through the agency of the Young Men's Christian Association . . . it would be better to encourage Christian students in each country to develop national Christian student movements of their own, adapted in name, organization, and activities to their particular genius and character, and then to link these together in some simple yet effective federation."³ The objective was to be "nothing less than the uniting of the Christian forces of all universities and colleges

³ John R. Mott, *The World's Student Christian Federation*, p. 4.

in the great work of winning the students of the world for Christ, of building them up in Him, and of sending them out into the world to work for Him.”⁴

The discovery of this creative idea was one of the many early evidences of the genius for world spiritual leadership and organization of John R. Mott, who—while Reynolds and Wishard were laying foundations in Europe and Asia—had been kindling hundreds of groups of American students and professors with a crusading passion that was making the Christian Association a great instrument for personal and social righteousness. So completely was Mott possessed by the soundness of this basis for world union that early in 1894 he was “seized with the conviction that the time had at last arrived when world-wide union of Christian students could be achieved.”⁵

Mott's first visit to Europe was a brief one in 1891, when he represented the American Movement in the World's Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association in Amsterdam. His first tour of the universities of Europe was in the months of May, June, and July, 1894. In response to an invitation from the Student Volunteer Missionary Union of Great Britain he spent these three months “studying and promoting the religious life and work of British colleges.”⁶ During these visits he had many conversations with students and professors in Great Britain and on the Continent regarding this “goal” of world-wide union of Christian students. His addresses in the colleges and in the British Student Conference at Keswick were so favorably received by British and Continental leaders of student religious thought that before he returned to this country he had urgent invitations to give leadership in the student conferences of Great Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, and Switzerland, during the summer and autumn of 1895. The Keswick Conference was strategic because there were present delegates from France, Germany, and South Africa. “The two delegates from America were John R. Mott and Robert E. Speer, whose addresses made a deep impression.”

⁴ John R. Mott, *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest*, p. 18.

⁵ John R. Mott, *The World's Student Christian Federation*, pp. 3-4.

⁶ *Y.M.C.A. Year Book*, 1895, pp. 22-24.

The British magazine, *The Student Volunteer*, remarked that "the presence of foreign delegates was of great significance—too great yet to be estimated rightly. Ours is a Movement in which students of the world can join hands and help one another."⁷

Shortly after his return to this country invitations came—quite independently of one another from widely-separated student fields in Europe, Asia, and Australia—for Mott to visit these countries "to promote Christian life and organized Christian work among students." Especially appealing were the requests to lead campaigns of religion among Indian students in the winter of 1895-96 and among the students of Japan in 1896.⁸ To Mott and his advisors they seemed so clearly to be the beckoning hand of God that "after much prayer and after consultation with friends and prominent workers," the decision was made to accept the invitations and to make a somewhat extended tour for these purposes and, if possible, to bring about "a union of the Christian students of all lands."⁹ The acceptance of these invitations marked both the beginning of Mott's lifelong, world-wide ministry to students and of the necessary preliminary steps for the formation of the World's Student Christian Federation. The journey was to occupy nearly two years. Before leaving America in the spring of 1895, Mr. Mott had secured the approval of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association to his plan for world federation. The Foreign Department of the Young Men's Christian Association in its relations to students in mission lands had also approved the plan and appointed Mr. Wishard, who was now Secretary of the Foreign Department, to accompany Mr. Mott to Europe as a representative of the "Student Movements in mission lands."¹⁰

Following his visit of the previous year to the British universities Mott had secured by correspondence an agreement of the British Student Movement to unite with the American Movement in forming a federation, "even though other student move-

⁷ T. Tatlow, *The Story of the Student Christian Movement*, pp. 58-59.

⁸ *Y.M.C.A. Year Book*, 1895, pp. 22-24.

⁹ J. R. Mott, *The World's Student Christian Federation*, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

ments of Europe might not see their way clear to unite with them.”¹¹

The leaders of the British College Christian Union and the students at the Keswick Student Conference supported with enthusiasm the proposal brought to them by Mott and Wishard as representing America and mission lands. They felt, however, that every possible effort should be made to win over some of the European movements before taking formal steps for federation. As a step toward this nearer goal they appointed Dr. J. Rutter Williamson as their representative to accompany Mr. Wishard and Mr. Mott to the German student conference which soon was to meet at Grossalmerode. Fearing a preponderance of Anglo-Saxon influence in the Federation, the German students debated this proposal with much vigor. It was not until they realized that the genius of this plan of federation was that it would leave “national movements free to work out their own independent life,”¹² that the German University Christian Alliance, under the leadership of Count Pückler, gave their approval to the plan and on the last day of the conference appointed Dr. Johannes Siemsen to accompany the American and British delegates to the Scandinavian Student Conference for further discussion.

In August, 1895, hundreds of Scandinavian students and professors gathered within the walls of the ancient Swedish castle of Vadstena, on the shores of Lake Vettern, for their annual conference—a meeting destined to occupy “as historic a place in the history of the Christian church as the famous haystack prayer-meeting at Williams College. Never since the Wartburg sheltered the great German reformer while he translated the Bible for the common people has a mediaeval castle served a purpose fraught with larger blessing to mankind. . . . Judged by results this was the most potential event in the entire religious history of universities and colleges.”¹³ Here the Scandinavian delegates were perfecting their national movement. But vastly more significant was the presence in the conference of the young men representing

¹¹ John R. Mott, *The World's Student Christian Federation*, pp. 4-5.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

the only other organized student movements in the world—the British, the American, the German, and the mission lands movements—all possessed by the dream of uniting Christian students of the world in one powerful spiritual brotherhood. This ideal of world union had dominated Wishard and the American movement during its pioneering years; so quickly and completely had it possessed Mott that in a short time God showed him the way of making a living reality out of the ideal; now it had won its way through the student conferences of three lands and was to be considered by the only remaining national student movement.

The response of the Scandinavian students and professors to Mott's presentation for the international delegation of the plan for world union was enthusiastic and immediate. They appointed Dr. Karl Fries of Stockholm and Pastor K. M. Eckhoff of Norway to collaborate with the international deputation in drawing up the plans for the World's Student Christian Federation.¹⁴ In room No. 63 of this old castle—built three hundred years before by Gustavus Vasa on the shores of Lake Vättern—after four long sessions, the little band of six formulated the plan for the federation. Its objects were to be:

1. To unite student Christian movements or organizations throughout the world.
2. To collect information regarding the religious conditions of the students of all lands.
3. To promote the following lines of activity:
 - a. To lead students to become disciples of Jesus Christ as only Savior and as God.
 - b. To deepen the spiritual life of students.
 - c. To enlist students in the work of extending the Kingdom of Christ throughout the whole world."¹⁵

Dr. Karl Fries of Stockholm was made Chairman and Mott—but seven years out of college—was made General Secretary of this new world movement.

Sharing with the students of China one year later the story of

¹⁴ John R. Mott, *The World's Student Christian Federation*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

the formation of the Federation, Mott said: "Six intense prayerful sessions were held in an upper room in the old castle on Lake Vettern . . . the Federation is the work of God. He planted the hope in the minds of different men during the last few years. . . . The Federation has established a telegraph in things spiritual. It has established a great student brotherhood in Jesus Christ. Who can measure the power of such a brotherhood?"

Following this meeting at Vadstena, Mott as General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation started on a twenty months' tour among the students of Europe and Asia—a journey which involved a total of sixty thousand miles of travel. From that day to the present and with scarcely a year's exception, Mott has spent a part of every year with students of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, or Australasia. In the pathway of this, the first world-wide student ministry of Mott, seventy new Student Christian Associations were organized and scores of already-existing societies were reorganized and revitalized. Five new national student Christian movements were formed and became affiliated with the World's Student Christian Federation. Three of these made provision for securing immediately national college secretaries, and in two of the older movements provisions were made for additional helpers.

The first prayer cycle for Christian students of the world was prepared by Mott on this journey and he gave also substantial assistance in the preparation of eleven other publications in connection with the work of these new movements. In twelve countries where the work was not well-enough organized to have a national student Christian movement, corresponding members were appointed to keep in contact with the work of the World's Student Christian Federation.

In all these countries Mott found the way for his work prepared by the earlier missionary tour of Wishard. The fact that the ideal of a world Christian student brotherhood was a reality in the World's Student Christian Federation greatly facilitated the work of evangelism and the forming of national movements. Practically unlimited university, missionary, and governmental resources were available to Mott as the leader of this new world

movement. When he returned to this country he had a more comprehensive knowledge of moral and religious conditions in the universities of the world than had ever before been in the possession of any leader.

Thousands of Buddhists, Hindus, Mohammedans, Confucianists, skeptics, and agnostics flocked to the student evangelistic meetings addressed by Mott. More than five hundred students were led "to accept Jesus Christ as their personal savior." More than two thousand students and Christian workers entered into a covenant "to keep the Morning Watch, not to mention what has been done to promote associated Bible study."¹⁶

Through his public meetings and personal interviews Mr. Mott led fully three hundred students to volunteer to dedicate their lives to Christian work. "Wherever possible the Student Volunteer Movement has been organized as a department of the national student work."¹⁷ Since five-sixths of the volunteers on this trip came from mission lands, the Student Volunteer Movement in these countries took on the characteristic of a "movement for home missions, which places upon the students of each mission land a special burden of responsibility for the evangelization of their own people."¹⁸

Mott's rare genius for combining the imperatives—Christian evangelism and missionary activity—with statesmanlike concern for all the details of effective organization for the achievement of high purposes was strikingly displayed in all the countries visited in this tour. It was this rare combination of gifts which made him at once so indispensable to the local and national university and religious life of these nations. Not only did he hold before them great visions, leading them to make revolutionary decisions; but, at the same time, he took counsel with them on the ways and means of translating these new determinations into the sort of sacrificial personal and group activity that would make a better world. Organization was as sacred as personal or movement commitment, and its problems must be grappled with

¹⁶ *Y.M.C.A. Year Book*, 1897, pp. 22-23.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁸ John R. Mott, *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest*, p. 211.

in a way worthy of its high ends. For Mott, in this tour and always since, there was "no unimportant detail."

Joined by Robert Wilder in Ceylon—"the half-way station between the West and the Far East"—Mott "entered into the fruits of the labors" of Dr. Frank Sanders, who in 1884 had organized at Jaffna College the first student Y.M.C.A. outside North America. On December 11-13, 1895, four hundred young men—three hundred from eight Christian colleges—went as delegates to a meeting of the North Ceylon Union of Young Men's Christian Associations. The headmaster of a Hindu college was present with forty of his students. "Conversions, dedication of lives to the service of their own people, groups for Bible study and prayer, committees, plans for systematic visitation of colleges, use of good literature—these were all parts of the fellowship and work of those days."¹⁹ And all of this was the outgrowth of the activity of a few students, who, with Sanders, had organized, only a few years previously, a Christian Association in their college.

A work of evangelism in India—the "mother of religions," "the rudder of Asia"—had been a major objective with Mott on this around-the-world university experience. Going to India from Ceylon he was joined by a group of recent American college graduates who had gone from the student movement experience there to serve the youth of India—Wilder, Forman, and Campbell White; David McConaughy, pioneer American Y.M.C.A. secretary in India; Moorhead, Ewing, Davis, Edmunds, and Mansell—strong support for a great work of the Spirit.

Conferences drawing 759 students from 120 colleges, together with missionaries and other delegates, came together in five great university centers: Bombay, January 9-12; Lahore, January 23-26; Lucknow, January 31-February 2; Calcutta, February 13-16; and Madras, February 27-March 1.²⁰ "The spiritual tide rose steadily and perceptibly to the end . . . in no country have we seen students accept Christ with greater intelligence, or with more

¹⁹ John R. Mott, *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest*, pp. 65-74.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

purpose of heart, or in the face of greater difficulties." ²¹ One hundred and twenty-seven decided to devote their lives to Christian work in India.²² Ceylon and India were united in an inter-collegiate movement which was to be the College Department (as in America) of the National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s. of India. To this secretaryship Sherwood Eddy (Yale, 1891) was called, beginning here a world-wide student ministry which in significance is second only to that of Dr. Mott.

Similarly a meeting in Madras of volunteers, meeting after the general student conferences, created the Student Volunteer Movement of India and Ceylon.²³ Thus was formed another link in the chain uniting students of all lands for "the evangelization of the world in this generation." ²⁴

For Mott and other Student Movement leaders the missionary spirit was so central to all Christian activity that building a strong national student movement always meant organizing as a part of it a Student Volunteer Movement. The one in India was the first to be formed in Asia and, as with later ones in mission lands, was regarded as a recruiting center for service through the home church.

In America the Student Volunteer Movement had held the first two of its series of great quadrennial conventions. While Mott was in India the British Student Volunteer Missionary Union was holding its first national convention in Liverpool (January 1-5, 1896). The convention brought together nearly eight hundred delegates with fraternal delegates from twenty-three countries. No other meeting in Great Britain or Europe had ever before brought together so many students to consider the problems of world evangelization. To this missionary conference—from which went quickening influences into all the universities of Europe and from which also Donald Fraser went to Africa to pioneer a Student Christian Movement—Mott and Wilder sent from Ceylon a message expressing their sense of the

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

urgency of the missionary task. It read: "Asia's crisis demands thousands of mountain-removing volunteers."²⁵

The watchword "the evangelization of the world in this generation" was not just a "convention motto" to be held up as a fine ideal for the few hundred students in each country who (as Student Volunteers) were dedicating their lives to foreign missionary service; it was rather the color, tone, and atmosphere of the total Student Christian Movement. It defined the sharing—the evangelizing—task of the student who professed to be Christian in world terms, beginning with the nearest student and campus situation and knowing no limits, geographical or racial.

At the Liverpool Conference the discussion of this "American" watchword brought forth a statement of the British Student Volunteer Movement Union which made another differentiation of importance. They said that "at last after prayerful deliberation and careful explanation we have resolved to adopt it as the watchword of the Union. By evangelization we do not mean conversion, nor do we mean to disparage, but to emphasize the value of educational missions. What is meant is simply this: The presenting of the gospel in such a manner to every soul in this world that the responsibility for what is done shall no longer rest upon the Christian church or on any individual Christian, but rest on each man's head for himself."²⁶ The four leaders who probably had most influence in bringing about this decision were Douglas Thornton, who had been the enthusiastic founder of the mission study work of the College Christian Union, Ruth Rouse, Agnes de Sèlincourt, and Donald Fraser.

During these months Mott and D. Willard Lyon, first Y.M.C.A. secretary for China, visited all of the institutions of higher learning in that country. Beginning with student associations in only four of these colleges, there were at the end of the tour Young Men's Christian Associations in twenty-seven. Following the plan of the India meeting, conferences were held with students and professors in China in four strategic places: Chee-foo (August 23-27); Peking (September 12-17); Shanghai (September 30-October 4); and Canton (October 10-14).

²⁵ Report of Liverpool Conference, p. 71.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

tober 3); Foochow (October 14-17). The purpose of these conferences was "to deepen the spiritual life and to consider the part which students must have in the evangelization of China." These conferences, attended by nearly three thousand delegates, twelve hundred of whom were Chinese students and professors, considered the problems involved in the evangelization of China and the responsibility of the Student Movement. Represented in these conferences were the most influential of the missionaries and native leaders of the Church of Christ in China. On November 3-4, 1896, the first National Convention of the Y.M.C.A.'s. of China met in Shanghai. Seventeen college presidents, nine Chinese leaders, and ten missionaries were among the delegates. Twenty-two out of the twenty-seven Associations were represented. A strong national committee, made up of fourteen men—seven Chinese—was elected to guide the destinies of the "College Young Men's Christian Association of China." The Student Volunteer Movement was formed as the missionary department of the Young Men's Christian Association—its objective to be that of recruiting a trained ministry for the Chinese church. The new movement at once applied for admission to the World's Student Christian Federation. Summarizing the impressions of this tour Dr. Mott said: "If China is ever to sense a great spiritual upheaval or movement of larger dimensions, must it not come as a result of a very practical and spiritual union of the future leaders of China?"

One of the most rewarding visits of the tour was that made to colleges of Australia and New Zealand—visits made at the special request of many Australian leaders and of the students gathered at the Liverpool Student Volunteer Convention, who subscribed the money and cabled it to Mott. This detour involved fourteen thousand miles of travel and occupied four months. Mott found student Christian societies in only five colleges and only one of these knew of the existence of any others. He left twenty-five Student Christian Unions and an Australasian Student Movement that has since then been one of the ablest and most thoughtfully-led movements in the Federation.

In Japan as early as 1879 Christian students at Sapporo Agri-

cultural College ²⁷ had formed a Christian Student Society called the "Believers in Jesus." It was a letter from these students to American students which had first aroused Wishard's interest in the idea of a world student movement. The first Student Y.M.C.A. had been organized in a government school of Tokyo by students led by Mr. Naojiro Murakanis. Shortly afterwards, students at the University of Commerce and Tokyo Imperial University organized. The coming of J. T. Swift and of Wishard in 1889 greatly stimulated these beginnings of a Student Christian Movement.

As in India and China, Mott's arrival in January, 1897, meant not only a nation-wide student religious awakening but also the adoption of measures of organization appropriate to the purposes of this awakening. During the few weeks of Mott's visit, Associations grew from eight to twenty-eight. At Tokyo, January 18-19, 1897, a conference of representatives from fifteen Associations formed the Student Young Men's Christian Association Union of Japan and applied for admission to the Federation. The arrival the next year of Galen M. Fisher, of the University of California, to be National Secretary of this Union, guaranteed its future. "The later development of the Student Christian Movement in Japan was due largely to his tact and wisdom." ²⁸

While Mott was in the Orient great changes were taking place in the European Movements. The one in Scandinavia went from strength to strength following Vadstena. The German University Christian Alliance was rapidly becoming a force in German student religious life. The work of the new British College Christian Union was most promising of all. Speaking to Chinese students of the British Movement, Mott said: "In many of the older unions the methods of Christian work have been much improved and there is greatly increased activity—an Oxford man wrote me that on a certain Sunday of the last autumn season, more students

²⁷ Col. William S. Clark, Ph.D., of Massachusetts Agricultural College, had accepted the presidency of this college on the condition that no limitation be placed on his Christian activity.

²⁸ J. S. Motoda, "The Beginnings of the Student Christian Movement in Japan," *The Student World*, July, 1923, pp. 14-20.

made a public stand for Christ than in any one day within the memory of the workers now at Oxford."

Certainly the most dramatic evidence of the growth of the British Movement was found in the Liverpool Missionary Student Convention, to which reference has been made. The conference was a most inclusive gathering from the standpoint of church representation, bringing together students from twenty-six different denominations and representatives of forty-five missionary societies.

A strong delegation of Dutch students attended the Liverpool Conference and returned to their colleges enthusiastic about extending the influence of the Student Movement to Holland. For years previous there had been missionary and other religious societies in the Dutch universities—the society for promoting missionary work at home and abroad was started in 1846²⁹—but most of these were not evangelistic and they lacked the practical methods of aggressiveness and the spiritual power which characterized the Federation. Stirred by a visit of students representing the British College Christian Union "a remarkable movement" began in 1895 among the students in Holland. "Most of the universities have some plan to unite students in Christian fellowship to advance their spiritual life, to win others for Christ, and to organize lines of Christian work by and for students. The Society of Utrecht publishes a magazine which is sent to nearly all of the five thousand students in the country." The delegates at Liverpool said they would "not rest content till all the Christian students' societies are bound together in one great union and form a part of the World's Student Christian Federation."³⁰ Following the Liverpool Conference, a number of local Christian student unions were formed, and the Dutch Movement, together with the Christian Student Movements of France and Switzerland, applied for admission to the World's Student Christian Federation.

During Mott's visits among the students of Holland two years later (1898), he was "delighted to find the beginnings of a prom-

²⁹ Report of Liverpool Conference, p. 125.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-128.

ising new movement; the committee having the direction of the movement compares favorably with the supervisory committees of the strongest movements in the world.”⁸¹

Previous to this time the Dutch Movement had been a national union of individual students, much like the Student Volunteer Movement. Mr. Mott regarded this form as a weakness because “it failed to give it visibility and an effective working basis at the different centers.”⁸²

Mott regarded this new development as “full of providential meaning. It is important to Holland herself because it is bound to permeate the universities with the spirit of Christ and consequently and inevitably to quicken the entire life of the Dutch Church and this must indeed purify and strengthen the whole national life. It is important to the Continent because the conditions in Continental universities, particularly those of northern and western Europe, are so similar that a deep and practical work of God in one of those lands is sure to affect powerfully the student religious life of the other countries.”

The immediate response of students in all lands to this idea of a student Christian internationale is reflected in the progress made in the extension of religious work among students during the first five years of the life of the World's Student Christian Federation. Evidence could be multiplied to establish the point that the most powerful single factor in kindling student religious life, in giving broad horizons and leading to noble self-dedication, in strengthening old college religious societies, in awakening hundreds of groups of students to the necessity for Christian Unions in their colleges and in bringing into existence strong national student Christian movements, was the actualization of this ideal of a world-wide Christian student movement, with its sense of urgent necessity for world-wide action for the establishment of the Kingdom of God—“the evangelization of the world in this generation.” How great had been the progress of these five years (1895-1900) may best be judged by the following facts:

⁸¹ John R. Mott, *The Intercollegian*, October, 1898, pp. 5-7.

⁸² *Ibid.*

"These five years constitute the most eventful and significant period in the religious history of the student world. In 1895 there were nine hundred student Christian Associations or Unions in universities, colleges, or higher schools; now there are fourteen hundred. Then forty-five thousand students and professors were members of such societies; now the number is nearly, if not quite, sixty-five thousand. Then there were ten national student movements; now there are fifteen. At that time the various national movements were isolated and their members were comparatively ignorant of the work of Christ among the students in lands other than their own; now we have the World's Student Christian Federation, which unites all the Christian student movements of the world, which has set these movements to acting and reacting upon one another most helpfully, and which not only has made the students of each land intelligent concerning those of other nations and races and brought them into sympathy with one another, but also has developed among them a world consciousness.

"Then there were only thirty-eight secretaries spending all, or the larger part, of their time in Christian work among students; this year there are one hundred and one. Then there were twenty-one buildings, valued at £80,000, devoted to the work of student Christian Associations; now there are thirty-nine, valued at over £200,000. In 1895 there were held ten national student conferences, attended by twenty-six hundred student delegates; during the past year there have been twenty such conferences, with an attendance of over fifty-two hundred students. Then there were less than fifty pamphlets and books published in the interest of the various student movements; now there are nearly two hundred. The six periodicals of national student movements then in existence had a combined circulation of about six thousand; the number of periodicals has since increased to thirteen, having a circulation of fully twenty thousand.

"Then there were spiritual awakenings reported in but three or four countries; since then the number of conversions among students has increased year after year, and during the past year alone there have been spiritual awakenings in nearly every land included in the Federation. In those days there were eleven thousand students in the Bible classes and circles of the various Christian Associations; today the number is over twenty-five thousand. In that year there were about two thousand students

in mission study classes; during the past year the number was nearly five thousand. Then the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions had been organized in two countries; now it includes students, not only of all Protestant Christian lands, but also of the Orient, and as a result of this movement, more students have gone to mission fields during the past five years than during the preceding ten years.”³³

This picture of the growth from local societies to world organization would not, however, be complete without some reference to the conference of the World's Student Christian Federation held at Zeist, Holland, in 1905. One hundred and forty-two delegates were present from twenty-nine countries. The eleven movements associated with the Federation had a membership of 103,000. This conference was a high-water mark in Federation history because for the first time women were admitted as full members of the Federation. “We were a small group of women,” writes Miss Una Saunders, “but representing various lands.” The records show that the thirty-two women present represented twelve countries. A Women's Section was created and Mrs. Sternthal of India was elected chairman. Miss Ruth Rouse was appointed secretary for women students. For years thereafter her leadership in the Federation and with women students was equal in significance to that given by Dr. Mott.

The more recent developments in the Federation and in other hands are given in Dr. Mott's history of the World's Student Christian Federation.³⁴

The purpose of this volume has been to give the essential facts of the beginnings of voluntary student religious societies and their organization in national and world-wide fellowship. The author has in preparation a second volume in which he will tell the story of the world-wide development of the idea of the vol-

³³ Conference of World's Student Christian Federation, Versailles, 1900, pp. 86-87.

³⁴ John R. Mott, *The World's Student Christian Federation: Origin, Achievements, Forecast* (1920).

untary student religious society under the leadership in our own land of Dr. Mott, Edward C. Carter, Charles D. Hurrey, and David R. Porter and its expansion through the Federation in other lands.

This Christian movement of students of the world is the creation of youths possessed by God-given dreams. Each step forward in the expansion and deepening of this idea of the voluntary student society has called for the vision and courage of young men and women ready to venture their lives and their all on the purposes of God. As one looks back over the trail of this idea, there seems to be a certain "inevitableness" about each forward step toward the goal of Christian-student world brotherhood. It is not, however, a mechanistic inevitableness. It is rather the inevitableness of the essential nature of the unfolding idea which, like the seed corn if properly planted and tended, must develop according to its own character but which, too, may be destroyed, stunted or delayed if man fails to understand its nature and to catch God's plan for its growth. This idea also had the great advantage that the idealism and adventure of youth would always be on its side. Around the Student Christian Movement experience students of all lands have for more than two centuries been finding their experiences of God and dreaming dreams for the refashioning of persons and of the world along the lines which they have considered to be implicit in the life and religious experiences of Jesus of Nazareth.

"Often when I have gone to a school I have reminded myself that if Jesus were still upon earth he would be visiting that school and I am merely going in his place."—*David R. Porter* (1915).

"While a college Christian Association should offer protection and assurance to the tempted and buffeted student, it has a special mission to discover potential prophets of tomorrow, affording them, first, a challenge for their amplest powers; second, a mediation of the resources of God as He is found in Jesus Christ, and third, a sustaining and nourishing fellowship of sympathetic comrades on the road. Schemes of social betterment all around us are tottering to collapse because they are not grounded in God or steadily sustained by God-filled leaders. The Student Christian Movement is much more than a liberal club, it goes with the liberal club in facing realistically the social facts and *then begins* its distinctive functions of testing situations by 'the mind of Christ' and by informing and kindling Christ-like men. That is the only school of the prophets which would be adequate for the world today."—*David R. Porter* (1933).

"It is a time for dealing with the question of reorganization of the Student Christian Movement in a manner which is quite fundamental and revolutionary. Any analysis and estimate which deals realistically with the situation across the country and with the attitudes and determinations of scores of the Movement's most trusted leaders reveal all the marks of a rapidly rising tide in favor of a movement of both men and women, which includes a total Christian message. Even though it were desirable, no Canute or group of Canutes can bid this tide rise only so far and no farther. We are better employed in making as sure as possible that whatever in it is God's tide and not merely man's may be channeled to the extension of Christ's Kingdom."—*David R. Porter* (1934).

CHAPTER XXIV

TURNING TOWARD NEW WAYS *

An Interpretation of Some Events and Problems in the Inter-collegiate Y.M.C.A. 1915-1934

THE national college secretaryships of Luther Wishard, John R. Mott, and David R. Porter cover a period of fifty-seven years—from 1877 to 1934. Dr. Mott and Mr. Porter each gave twenty-seven years to the National Student Y.M.C.A. leadership. During the entire period of Dr. Mott's leadership of the American Student Y.M.C.A.'s. he carried many other related executive responsibilities. He was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Student Volunteer Movement from its organization in 1888 until 1920. He was General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation from 1895 until 1920 and served as its chairman from 1920 to 1927. From 1898 until 1915 he was Foreign Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association. In 1910 he became chairman of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh World Missionary Con-

* AUTHOR'S NOTE: To compress this story into the brief space of a single chapter is to do an injustice to many of the facts and to detract from their radiance; this period fully deserves the carefully-detailed historical treatment which the author has attempted in the preceding chapters. In clear recognition of the historical inadequacy of this chapter it nevertheless is included. It attempts to record a period of trail-blazing into which is crowded more intercollegiate adventure than any period of the same length in the two hundred years of Student Movement history. It is hoped, however, that, in the light of such a picture as is given here, many of the issues which now confront the Student Christian Movement may be seen in proper perspective. If this interpretation of some of the events which the author believes to be rooted in the history of the period is useful in giving even a sketchy background to the contemporary discussions, he will feel that this chapter has served its purpose. The method followed here is that of outline and interpretation, pointing to bases for judgments and avoiding footnotes in so far as possible.

ference. *Because of and in spite of* the humanly impossible burdens of leadership he was carrying, the student Y.M.C.A.'s. between the years 1900-1915 went from strength to strength, increasing in membership, scope of program, and significance in American religious life. It was possible for Dr. Mott to continue his leadership of American student Associations during these years only because of his strict adherence to the principle of "delegated responsibility" and his choice of a remarkably able group of associates for leadership in the student work. In the years just preceding Mr. Porter's coming into the executive secretaryship there were in the field positions Dr. W. D. Weatherford (South), A. J. Elliott (West), Gale Seaman (Pacific Coast), John W. Pontius (East), Charles W. Bishop (Canada), and in specializing positions Neil McMillan (Business), Fred M. Harris (Editorial), Harrison S. Elliott (Bible Study), R. H. Edwards and Dr. A. M. Trawick (Social Service), and Dr. Max Exner (Sex Education). To give, under the guidance of Dr. Mott, cohesion and direction to the Student Department Committee of the Y.M.C.A. and this staff of secretaries Dr. Mott had for a number of years an executive secretary, Edward C. Carter, who served in this position from 1908 until he was called back to India in 1911 for work with the Indian National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s; and Charles D. Hurrey, who served from 1911-1915 when he resigned to become secretary of the National Committee for Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, a position which he still holds (1934). The acceptance by Dr. Mott in 1915 of the General Secretaryship of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. (succeeding Richard C. Morse, its first secretary) made it impossible for him to carry longer the national executive secretaryship of the Student Department and led to the appointment of Mr. Porter. Mr. Porter had been on the national staff as Preparatory School Secretary from 1907 to 1915.

The years of Wishard's and Mott's leadership, 1877-1915, were exceedingly important but were relatively untroubled years. Protestant Christianity, in spite of its denominational and theological differences, had its blueprints for religion. The implications of religion were generally accepted as upright personal con-

duct; philanthropic benevolence toward the less privileged; service for better community, state, and nation; and world-wide sharing of the Christian evangel through evangelism at home and missions abroad. There were no questions about the social order or war so fundamental in character that the Christian must face them and deal with them if his evangelism were to have meaning. It was, indeed, a world in which there seemed to be security for individual and social values. In such a world crusading for world-wide expansion of Christianity was a fascinating adventure—there were enough obstacles to make it exciting but they were not of a sort that shook confidence in fundamental assumptions.

There is no basis for comparing the work of the nineteen years of Mr. Porter's leadership with the preceding years. All the old molds have been broken. Said General Smuts of South Africa at the beginning of the World War: "The greatest hurricane in history is raging over the world and it is idle to expect that we shall be able to shelter ourselves from its effects." That hurricane is still raging (1934) and no one is yet wise enough to know when it will have spent itself or what kind of world we shall have when it is over. Movements, just as nations, have been tossed to and fro by it and the steering of anything like a straight course has called for piloting the like of which never before has been demanded. In tempestuous times student societies and movements respond more quickly to the changing situation than do others, because of their rapidly-changing leadership and the idealism and emotion of youth.

For the leadership of the Student Movement in troubled times David R. Porter was peculiarly well fitted—a graduate of Bowdoin College, a Rhodes Scholar at Trinity College and with his M.A. from Oxford, a man of fine culture and literary interests who had published, five years before taking this position, an anthology of poetry, *Poems of Action*, which still is a classic for youth—a man grounded in the best theological thinking of his day, always evangelical and missionary—a man with amazing capacity for understanding and adjustment without compromise—a man to whom thousands of former students all over the world look with affection and gratitude for the ways in which, by his

life and words, he unveiled the face of a living Christ before them—a man whose world outlook was worthy of the traditions of the Student Movement—and a man who, above all, won the allegiance of students, secretaries, and professors through the contagious quality of his personal religious life. Religion has always been for him, as Chesterton says it was for Saint Francis, “not a thing like a theory but a thing like a love affair.”

The College Year 1915-16. It was under the leadership of such a man that the Student Y.M.C.A. found itself entering the war years, little realizing how great were to be the changes of those years. The first year saw little change from the patterns of other years. There were big evangelistic campaigns, thirty-seven of them, several planned on the large-scale basis inaugurated by Frank Buchman at Penn State. (Mott led the campaign there that year, assisted by a team of fifty personal workers.) There was an all-day conference at Columbia University in December of all the eastern universities conducting campaigns of evangelism. Raymond Robins and Jack Childs led their campaigns, sounding a note of personal social evangelism in forty colleges. President Hibben of Princeton said of the Robins campaign at Princeton that “it was a great success in the fine sense of the word . . . and that it led to serious thinking concerning the significance of life and its responsibility.” A conference of masters of preparatory schools was held at Northfield and the addresses published in a pamphlet, *The Key to the Colleges*. None who shared in it will ever forget the inspiring and enjoyable national summer school of student Y.M.C.A. secretaries held at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, in 1915. The remarkable work done in sex education under the leadership of Dr. Max Exner was carried forward. Presidents’ conferences for training new officers were held and the seminaries continued their plans for recruiting conferences for the Christian ministry; the service programs for boys’ groups, the teaching of English to foreigners, and the freshmen programs went forward; the University of Michigan Association, under the leadership of W. H. Tinker, secured 2,358 jobs for students; and R. H. Edwards’ varied programs of social service were pursued more vigorously than ever. “Thank God we

are in America" was reported in *The North American Student* as the attitude of the hordes of immigrants arriving in America—hence there was the Industrial Service Movement which Fred Rindge, Jr., so ably led. Conferences with leaders of the newly-emerging work of the denominations in the state universities were being held in Cleveland, Chicago, and New York; and the movements were begun for comity among professional workers and coöperative programs in the universities. Of a meeting of the Council of Church Boards of Education and the Conference of Church Workers, to which some Association secretaries were invited, Charles D. Hurrey reported that "both the extreme denominationalist incapable of recognizing and boosting and interdenominational organization and the occasional Association secretary unwilling to take his place as a servant of the Church faded away."

The remarkable Bible-study programs promoted by Harrison S. Elliott as Bible Study Secretary for the Student Y.M.C.A. and Miss Ethel Cutler for the Y.W.C.A. issued in a voluntary study program with courses graded according to college years, with excellent plans for training Bible-study leaders (Professor Henry Wright was leading such a class at Yale composed of Yale students and masters of neighboring preparatory schools), and the University of North Carolina Y.M.C.A. expected to "sign up" 500 of its 957 new students in Bible-study courses. The repercussions of the great Student Volunteer Convention at Kansas City were still being felt and student deputations, in some of which the author shared, were spreading its message to tens of thousands who could not participate in the convention. Six hundred and seventy-nine colleges reported to the Student Volunteer Movement gifts of \$247,424 to foreign missions, one-half of this from students.

When Mr. Porter succeeded Dr. Mott as executive secretary the world had been at war for a year, but for most Christian Movement leaders it was still a very distant affair. So far as one gave any thought to it at all it was a terrible war but only *another war*, and after it was ended we would tidy things up and the world would go on again as usual. It is true that, in response to

the call of the World's Student Christian Federation, the Universal Day of Prayer was devoted, February 28, 1915, to intercession "for a just and durable peace." Another bright spot was that *The North American Student* (George Irving, Editor) carried, in January, 1915, a war editorial which asked "what are we doing to stop at its source the floods of hate, suspicion, and distrust that are being let loose?" and that three months later it carried an article by Professor Edward A. Steiner of Grinnell College, Iowa, entitled "A Plea for Constructive Neutrality." The possibility that for decades ahead security as it had been known for individuals, nations, and movements would disappear and that we should face the job of building a new world social order while living in the midst of the ruins of the old; that the only thing we could be sure of would be constant change, baffling uncertainty and insecurity; and that the only reward we could hope to have would be that of the pioneer blazing new trails—none of these things which seem so clear now were evident to many Student Movement leaders in 1915. So far as could be seen, after the war we could go forward as before, liberalizing our statement of the Christian message, declaring its imperatives with new and better methods, and making the Christian Student Movement the vanguard in the crusade for carrying the gospel to all peoples. Still, for most of us, "God was in his heaven" and all was right, or nearly so, with his world.

The naïveté of our faith was reflected in a *North American Student* editorial (October, 1914) which said that "the end of the strife, maybe, will usher in a new and better order among men. Never again, for one thing, can a Christian nation put its trust in brute force. Never again can any sane mind exalt the military motives over those of brotherly love and human kindness. Surely organized materialism will have its death blow in this war."

Here and there voices were lifted against a social order the rottenness of which was symbolized by the insanity and tragedy of the World War. These cries were easily silenced because all the observable facts seemed to be against them. It suggests the inadequacy of the universities and the forces of religion that they too could go on into the madness of the war years blind to the

forces in society that had made the war inevitable, and serenely expecting "to do business as usual" after it was over.

It is against these assumptions of the years previous to 1915 that the work of the Student Y.M.C.A's. in the colleges and universities of the United States during the years 1915-1934 must be judged. So ruthless have been events during these years that no movement is as it was before 1915. A movement's real survival value is not to be judged on the basis of the degree to which it has preserved old organizational forms or methods of work, but rather on the quality of its clairvoyance in sensing the issues of its day and the ways in which it can make its distinctive contributions to the changing world.

Probably it is evidence of *the most striking and significant change* of this period that it is almost impossible to separate any one of the Student Christian Movements and speak of its developments apart from the others. The Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., the denominational student societies, chapel and other administration-centered voluntary Christian student organizations, are gradually becoming part of a wider but still unclear Christian-student-society pattern. The forces bringing this about are inherent in the contemporary university and religious situation. The task of the student and professional leadership of these movements is to envisage what, in the light of the needs of students and the world, the nature of that pattern should be, and to give themselves unitedly to making it a reality.

The brief space allowed in this chapter forces the author to attempt the picture of the changes during this period in only one of these movements—the National Student Y.M.C.A.—and to limit the picture to only such changes and trends as appear in intercollegiate life. At most points explicitly or implicitly the author will be doing this in its relationships with the wider scene. It is perhaps another of the dramatic changes of this period that it would be impossible also to say anything that would be true of even a majority of the nearly six hundred Student Y.M.C.A's., for during these after-war years the whole idea of standardization had disappeared from almost every phase of student Association work.

The Student Y.M.C.A.'s. in the War. By the spring of 1916 the war began to be a reality for the Student Y.M.C.A.'s. Because of the slowness in demobilizing the Student Army Training Corps the Student Y.M.C.A.'s. did their work under the abnormal "war-time psychology" until the end of the college year 1919-20, when the last legal connections with the War Work of the Y.M.C.A. ceased. In the very nature of the case the War forced upon the men's Associations much more of a break with all their past traditions than was true of the Student Y.W.C.A. or even with the mixed organizations of the denominations. Their work was done in the war atmosphere for a student generation. For more than two years the Student Y.M.C.A.'s. saw their members and secretaries leave in rapid succession for O.T.C.'s., direct enlistment in the army or navy, or in the work of the Y.M.C.A. at home or overseas. As early as the summer of 1916 its membership was so reduced that the Pacific Northwest Conference had to be abandoned and the Middle Atlantic and New England Conferences combined. Attendance at all conferences decreased greatly. The ordinary rapid changes in undergraduate leadership present enough difficulties, but beginning with the autumn of 1916 the changes were kaleidoscopic—a whole cabinet and its secretary would leave for an O.T.C., and within a few months the cabinet might have changed completely again. With America's entrance into the war the loss of most of the local and national secretaryship was inevitable, as sixty-five per cent of them were of draft age. In the first few months of the setting up of the Personnel Bureau for the home and overseas war work of the Y.M.C.A., one-half of the applicants were recent Student Movement members and secretaries. It was not strange, then, that the traveling staff of the Student Y.M.C.A. were conscripted for service in the national and regional offices of the Personnel Bureau. New York took Harrison S. Elliott, Richard H. Edwards, and Wellington H. Tinker. The author served in Boston as New England personnel secretary. The Sherwood Eddy party for service with the British Y.M.C.A. was wholly made up of student Association secretaries and members. Much time of secretaries, local and national, was commandeered for the O.T.C. camps. At the end of

the year 1916 only six out of eighteen national staff members were left. The mature local leadership secretaries, professors, and younger ministers were depleted in the same way. There was no way for a local Association to replace such leaders as Professor Henry Wright and Dr. George Stewart, who went from the Yale Association for leadership in the religious work program of Camp Devens.

The enrollment in the colleges in October, 1918, was less than sixty-five per cent of what it had been the year before. With the issue of the War growing increasingly more uncertain, there was the prospect that large numbers of able-bodied students would enlist. To prevent the emptying of the colleges as well as to protect future educational needs, the government took control of the colleges in September, 1918, established the Student Army Training Corps, and the Student Y.M.C.A. leaders were asked to carry on as secretaries of the War Work Council of the Y.M.C.A. Although this was only two months before the armistice, yet it was not until December, 1919, that the S.A.T.C's. were completely demobilized, which meant the spring following before all connections between the Student Movement and War Work ceased.

Leaders do not yet fully comprehend the completeness of the break with the past made during these war years. The S.A.T.C. years increased the number of college secretaries threefold; there was one secretary for every 250 students; most of these were men who had little recent experience in Student Movement leadership. With the colleges under control of the War Department, it was difficult to avoid developing *work for students* rather than with them or by them. There was also the subtle danger of encouraging leaders to place too much confidence in big programs. The atmosphere was such that it was actually easier to do a big thing than a little thing. There was no room or time for value judgments, since strenuous action counted for more than reflection.

That these war years were not a total loss, but a germinating period for new ideas and new methods, was true in spite of the sociological situation and not because of it. The credit for

this achievement largely goes to David Porter's philosophy of leadership. Convinced that there could be no successor to Mott, Porter began advocating team leadership for the intercollegiate life of the Movement and was prepared to win authority for his own convictions through group processes rather than by dogmatically asserting them. Perhaps it is not surprising that such leadership has been sometimes misjudged by those who understand neither the changed educational scene nor the significance of the Master's word about who is "great." The other factor in Porter's leadership that counted tremendously was that, more clearly than most of his contemporaries, he saw the issues involved in the war. His known pacifist convictions and those of some of his colleagues caused his leadership to be misunderstood and threatened by some Y.M.C.A. leaders outside the Student Movement. But it was this pacifist conviction which was constantly turning the eyes of students towards a new day, keeping the Student Movement spirit alive, and making *better ways* out of many of the *new ways*.

The various war fund campaigns became calls for sacrificial giving of money and life for the making of a better world and so matching the heroism and dedication of life of fellow students "over there." The conference of students and secretaries at Niagara Falls in September, 1917, set a breath-taking goal of \$1,000,000 for student gifts to the first Y.M.C.A. war fund. Yet before the campaign officially opened students had pledged \$500,000 and in the end they gave \$1,500,000. To the second—the United War Fund, 1918—they gave nearly \$3,000,000. In these campaigns the Student Y.M.C.A. and the Student Y.W.C.A. coöperated.

More significant than these funds, however, were those raised before and after the general war work campaigns. As early as January, 1916, \$2,500 was raised by some American students to help European students serve the armies of both sides of the war. At a meeting of the National Student Y.M.C.A. staff in September, 1916, fifteen secretaries made pledges ranging from \$50 to \$500 and totalling \$2,500 towards the support of three of their number who had gone overseas for work with prisoners of war.

Feeling that students would want to share with them in this constructive work, they proposed raising a fund of \$150,000. In the face of a growing anti-German sentiment, this proposal called for Christian courage; for it was destined to meet with opposition from more than one university president. The author recalls vividly the coming of David Porter and Francis Miller to his office with the report of the staff action and the query as to whether some of the older New England colleges might not lead off in this. His own skepticism disappeared only when, a few days later, the cabinet of the Christian Association at Williams College had themselves pledged \$1,000 and the Wesleyan student body pledged \$6,000. This fund, which by the time of America's entrance into the war had reached \$200,000, was aided by the Student Y.W.C.A. and the women's colleges.

Even more daring and constructive were the remarkable series of Student Friendship Funds raised jointly by the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in the years following the close of the war. Raised in the days of rampant "100 per cent Americanism," these funds had the definite purpose of expressing Christian friendliness to the students and professors in the recent enemy countries. These and similar gifts from other countries made it possible for the World's Student Christian Federation to carry forward the remarkable European Student Relief. This was given to both allied and enemy countries, the bulk of it going to Central Europe for food, books, self-help enterprises, and to keep open the doors of learning. The rise of the self-help philosophy in European universities dates from the experiences of these years.¹

Democratic Control of National Movement. Equalling in importance the inauguration of the Intercollegiate Movement at Louisville (1877) were the steps taken in the war days for the democratizing of the control of the corporate life of the student movement. Up to the war days there was a Student Department Committee—a very small group of devoted Christian laymen. The

¹ Ruth Rouse's *Rebuilding Europe* gives some picture of the significance of the corporate sacrifices of students for their fellow-students in former enemy countries.

College Y.M.C.A.'s. had always prided themselves on being a Movement of students; and those secretaries and professors were counted most successful who knew how to share their insights without dominating, leaving students free to make their decisions. Although this characteristic was basic in the local Student Y.M.C.A., there was no comparable opportunity for the expression of student convictions regarding the policies of the intercollegiate movement. Wishard, Mott, and their associates were men who knew students, believed in them, and sought to guide their policies by the real needs of students, expressed and unexpressed. There were, however, no organizational channels through which the membership of the Student Y.M.C.A.'s. could control the Intercollegiate Movement. There were, of course, many intercollegiate meetings in which the national secretaries could take counsel with local leaders, notably the presidents' annual conference and the summer conferences. Probably no other Christian leader has "taken counsel" more than Dr. Mott; certainly few have ever believed more in students or trusted them more. The author remembers two critical meetings affecting the whole future of the Student Movement in which Dr. Mott's judgment was likely to be determinative and in which his only question was, "What do the students really want? I have learned to put their judgment ahead of mine."

But there is a great difference between the seeking of counsel and having the corporate life of a movement so organized that the obligation of control rests upon its membership constituency. As early as 1912 the New England colleges had formed a council for guidance of their work. Before the war, at the Estes Park National Student Secretaries' Assembly (1913), radical proposals were made for the democratic control of the movement. No action was taken at the time and the proposals were revived at the Cleveland International Y.M.C.A. Convention in 1916. Since such proposals exactly fitted Porter's philosophy of leadership, he naturally favored them. In his report to the International Committee for May, 1916, Mr. Porter said: "Up to this time there has been a strong demand from some for a larger share in determining the policy of the International Committee for student work. The

Department aims to make a special study of giving further expression to this desire for democracy in the student work." The convention authorized the appointment of a small committee "to give counsel" to the International Committee and its secretaries.

In February, 1917, this small National Committee of Counsel selected by the summer conferences had a two-day conference in Chicago; it demonstrated, however, that it was too small and was still one step removed from the local college, and hence was not a great advance in democracy. In 1919 the Student Section of the Detroit International Y.M.C.A. Convention pressed further this question of democratizing the control of the Student Movement. A committee of nine, appointed with power, met shortly after Detroit and made the proposals which have become the basis for strong councils of students, professors, secretaries, and alumni in each conference area and for a National Council of Student Associations. Changes have been made in this council system in the fifteen years of its existence, but they have all been in the direction of making the field and national councils more representative and responsible. The action of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. in 1927—giving the student work the status of a division—gave to the Intercollegiate Movement more freedom in the development of policy and decisions regarding personnel and budget. Increasingly, and with the approval of many of the leaders of the Y.M.C.A., the work with the students has become a movement within a movement. This greater freedom has led a number of fields to include within the field council workers and students of church and other Christian student societies. The change of the name of the National Council in 1933 to National Council of Student Christian Associations is symbolic both of change in fact and spirit of the leadership of the intercollegiate Y.M.C.A.

At its heart this plan of giving leadership through field and national councils means risking the prophetic work of a Christian movement to groups rather than to solitary prophetic individuals. This does not mean that a movement values prophets less but rather that it attempts to create a better setting for the multiplying of the word and influences of the prophet. The Student

Y.M.C.A. led in this policy of risking the control of its total intercollegiate life to democratic control, but in this policy it soon had the companionship of the Student Y.W.C.A. with its National Student Council and in the last few years of the Student Volunteer Movement in the formation of its General Council. It is largely because of this development that during the depression years (1930-1934) the work among men's Associations has in its morale and vitality gone forward in spite of greatly curtailed budgets and, in some regions, the total disappearance of traveling staffs. It should be noted that this development, followed through as it has been by the Student Y.M.C.A.'s., leads to certain consequences which lovers of good organizational machinery deplore. On the one hand there is a decentralization of responsibility which tends to put most of the responsibility for staff, budget, program, and conferences in the regions (developing self-conscious regional movements); on the other, it tends to open the organizational doors within fields to include those leaders and students of related organized Christian student groups which are a part of the Christian movement in the fields. Between 1920 and 1934 Student Y.M.C.A.'s. and Student Y.W.C.A.'s. have been replaced in a number of colleges by Christian student groups or societies of other names. This more frequently has happened with the Y.M.C.A. than with the Y.W.C.A., because among other reasons the latter has values as a center for women's student life and is a connecting link with the more general women's causes in American life which are in addition to its distinctly religious values. The striking fact, however, is that the new voluntary Associations created to take the place of the Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A. (or both) have in their essential characteristics carried forward the tradition of the Christian student society. These societies have found desirable a continued relation to the wider intercollegiate and world-wide work carried on through the field and national councils of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. The result is that in the membership of the men's field councils of some regions there will be fewer Student Y.M.C.A.'s. affiliated than in 1920 but there will be more Christian Student Societies and some of them will be joint Associations.

A New Realism About the Nature of the World and the Christian Message. Another war-year development which has radically changed the character of the corporate life of the Student Y.M.C.A. and profoundly influenced national life has been the increasing realism of the Movement about the world of which it is a part and toward the challenges of contemporary life to religion. Even before America entered the War there were clear signs that the Movement was breaking with the blueprints that controlled the pre-war generation. Questions of a fundamental character were asked about a social order that called itself "Christian" and yet denied the most elemental Christian values. It now seems incredible that universities and churches together could have accepted the naïve assumptions of 1870-1915 and, in the name of culture and religion, "blessed" the slaughter of the world's finest youth with no seeming sense of sin or shame. The questions of oriental student friends regarding the impotence of religion in the presence of the ethical challenge of the war accentuated the questions of small groups of thoughtful Christian students. Some of them found a steadying influence in the Fellowship of Reconciliation. So convinced were a few of these that the social order and war were utterly wrong that they paid the price of their convictions and joined the small company of Christian pacifists who went to prison rather than assist in furthering in any way a war which their Christian conscience told them was wholly wrong. One of this number, Harold Gray, president of the Harvard Association, for whom David Porter's friendship was an anchorage throughout the war, has recently published under the title, *Character: Bad*, some of the letters which describe his experience as a conscientious objector—an experience which took him to Fort Leavenworth and Alcatraz military prisons.

That some Christian students of other countries were being similarly awakened became clear. In an article a month earlier (January, 1916), by C. V. Hibbard (now general secretary of the Y.M.C.A., University of Wisconsin) entitled "Crime or Penance, What is the War?" a German student soldier is quoted as saying: "Why did we not respond to God's call for the works of peace? A thousandfold the call sounded in our ears from the

slums of big cities, from the gilded but dead drowsy rooms of the capitalists. Now we lie with blood-stained hands under the curse of sin and can hardly bear the heavy iron cross of the world's needs."

Only a few months after his acceptance of the Executive Secretaryship, in an article in *The North American Student* (February, 1916, p. 190) entitled, "The Federation, a Movement High and Wide," Mr. Porter revealed his own thinking when he said, "There may have been a day when we could satisfy ourselves with narrow interests; during the past eighteen months the 'international mind' has been thrust upon us. As the War has dragged along its cruel, bloody, inconclusive way, even the most self-satisfied student must have longed for some way of fellowship with the suffering of his brothers across the sea, and to many the meaning, both present and possible, of the Federation has come to be both real and vital. In trying days, when so many international ties are breaking, is it not a significant fact that the Federation has so far kept up its united work? Pray God it may continue to do so." At this same time the Student Y.M.C.A's. were urging that all Associations in their mission study program should place "special emphasis on the present world situation, with an effort to discuss in the spirit of Christ the lessons our students should learn from the vast tragedy of Europe."

Shortly after our declaration of war Mr. Porter, in a survey of progress for the college year 1916-17, stated that "thoughtful students were irresistibly led to a study of the underlying social conditions which make war possible in modern life. It is increasingly difficult to separate, at least as far as essential spirit goes, international war from that kind of conflict of which we see so much in our present national life, particularly in industry and commerce . . . It is not surprising that such lines of thinking have led many men to put a new valuation upon the social emphasis in student work . . . Although there has been no relaxation in getting individuals to throw themselves during free hours into various forms of local social service, it is not surprising that there has been a growth of conviction that the chief burden upon

students is in the realm of thought, discussion, and the making of convictions."

Here we see the new emerging from the old. It is the cautious declaration of a new policy—the meaning of which could be only partially comprehended in the midst of war conditions—but a policy which increasingly has become more articulate and defined in the eighteen years elapsed since then and which represented the most decisive break from the "blueprints" of the past. In the social realm, it meant that service was not enough; the implication for evangelism was that no declaration of message could be significant except as related to the urgent issues of the world—the social order, racial relationships, and war; for the foreign missionary crusade it meant the separation as far as possible from all the imperialistic notes in our civilization and the placing of the missionary enterprise in the setting of the wider task of building a Christian world; for the local Associations it meant less emphasis on standardized programs and "occupying the campus" and more on developing a vital Christian fellowship intellectually and spiritually awake to the real challenges confronting Christianity in our times.

The implications of this new idea have cut in all directions. As increasingly it has controlled national and state student Y.M.C.A. leadership, it has led to radically different conceptions of the functions of a Student Christian Movement in the universities and in society, resulting in the disintegration of older program methods, forms of organization, and conception of message. It has encouraged constant experimentation in all these areas, much of which has uncovered the bases on which a new and better Student Christian Movement may be built.

With the close of the War this point of view became more clear-cut. In a report for the war years 1916-19 it was said: "Present keenness on the part of thoughtful students and professors for adequate social readjustment is so great that their first question, as the claims of Christ are brought to them, is, 'Does Christ offer an adequate solution for the burning social and international questions of this day?' Unless it can be clearly shown that Christianity does offer a solution; indeed, unless we are

firmly convinced it offers the only solution for these national and international questions; and unless we include in our message adequate social emphasis, these thoughtful men will consider Christianity and social reform as alternatives and in many cases will choose the latter . . . There is less satisfaction than formerly with an easy service program which may not lead men to understand the vast evils and difficulties of the social problem. The idea is growing that our task here is not to stir up a lot of social service, good and necessary as that is, but rather to bring students to a Christian point of view for the whole of life."

The implications of this position for the Student Movement was that it must be *intellectually more competent* and that its world-mindedness must break beyond the traditional religious channels for the development of world consciousness. There is a universal Christian Church with its world view and tasks; and the extension of its geographical and spiritual boundaries must always be a matter of primary responsibility for the Christian. There is also a world of which this Christian Church is a part and which radically conditions its message; this world must be understood, criticized, and changed, if its pagan qualities are not to overwhelm the Christian community and its values.

The first national meeting of representatives of Student Y.M.C.A.'s. after the War was in conjunction with the International Y.M.C.A. Convention at Detroit in November, 1919. In this convention the feeling was very tense because of criticism of what was regarded as the social radicalism of National Student Y.M.C.A. leaders. It was the activity of the student group, led by Ben Cherrington and George Stewart (supported by the chairman of the convention, Governor William E. Sweet of Colorado), that led this convention by close vote after a dramatic session to vote approval of the Social Ideals as adopted by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. In support of this type of leadership, the student section of the convention "commended the action of the Student Department of the International Committee in presenting the message of social justice and industrial service before student conferences and upon student campuses and urged continued and fuller presentation."

New Realism About the Christian Message and the Social Order. The criticism of the national leadership was especially severe at the point of the leadership that was sponsored for the evangelistic campaigns in the colleges. The campaigns led by Raymond Robins and John M. Childs (then on the National Student Staff, now, 1934, Associate Professor of Education at Columbia University) in the colleges during the college years 1915-16 and 1916-17 represented the first radical break from the more traditional evangelism. In these campaigns there was a combination of social passion and personal religious conviction that meant new life for many who had been repelled by the older evangelism. There was, however, little in the message of Robins that challenged the basic foundations of the social order, although it greatly stirred social conscience and might have radical consequences for society. It was through the messages of social prophets like Professor Harry Ward, J. Stitt Wilson, G. Sherwood Eddy, and Kirby Page that questions of a basic character regarding the social order, war, race relationships, and Christian international policy first began to be raised. These men began a new work of Christian evangelism and in their train have come others (Reinhold Niebuhr, E. B. Shultz, John Bennett, Paul Blanshard, McNeil Poteat, Norman Thomas, Ernest Fremont Tittle) who in their speaking and writing have both expressed the new passion of the Student Christian Movement and helped to shape and give direction to it. The opening of the Student Christian Movement (Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.) platform to prophetic social evangelism has had almost as much effect on these leaders and their messages as it has had on students. Here messages may be subjected to the fire of criticism of the most thoughtful and Christian students of the day and be changed in the light of what there is in that criticism that is sound. "The Student Christian Movement," said Professor Harry F. Ward, "has both provided a channel for and extended the influence of religious leaders today. It has noticeably increased the tendencies in the younger generation toward a prophetic ethical religion" (letter to Hayes Beall, March 23, 1933). For Norman Thomas (Socialist candidate for President) "the Student Christian Association in a great

many of our colleges and universities is a genuine center of intellectual curiosity, moral purpose, and social interest. More than once I have been impressed with the bravery with which secretaries of the Student Y.M.C.A. and the student officers of it have stood out for their convictions even at cost to themselves" (in *The Intercollegian*, November, 1932). That this new evangelism rooted itself in fundamental Christian convictions and that it has sought to make Christian disciples as earnestly as did the older evangelism, is abundantly clear in the evidence. To be sure of this, one has only to think of scores of students—such as Powers Hapgood of Harvard and H. J. ["Jerry"] Voorhis of Yale—whose whole later life-leadership was revolutionized by it. For thousands of students this approach restored the Christianity's "lost radiance" and made it again a religion of adventure. The impression made on Professor Henry B. Wright, who more than any one else in the Student Movement incarnated the evangelistic urge at the heart of the Christian faith, is vividly portrayed in an incident in the Silver Bay conference of the Student Y.M.C.A. in 1921, reported in George Stewart's *Life of Henry B. Wright* (pp. 89-90).

"One night, after Stitt Wilson had delivered an unusually powerful address even for that eccentric and saintly prophet, Professor Wright and I went apart under some trees to talk over matters concerning the Yale delegation and summer plans. Our minds were full of the address. He said: 'There is a new note among the speakers. Something additional is rising up in the life of our time. These talks by Sherwood Eddy and Stitt Wilson are not usual talks. There is a new greatness about them; such speaking only comes when great issues are up. My father told me how it came in the days before the Civil War in the anti-slavery fight. In the years ahead we shall be examining all our social and economic life. Perhaps we are all on the wrong road; we must study the matter.'"

This new realism about the social order has expressed itself in many ways: in summer and mid-winter conference programs, in leading articles and editorials in *The Intercollegian*, in program resource material, and (since the depression) in much stu-

dent action on urgent issues. One of the most significant of the new program plans was the Summer Industrial Service Groups which were pioneered by the national staff of the Student Y.M.C.A. under the leadership of Ben Cherrington, Rocky Mountain secretary. These groups had the experience of working in industry, combined with seminars and personal investigation in which the students studied the problems of the social order. The student members were expected to get their own jobs as any other worker would be obliged to do. Mr. Cherrington organized and conducted the first of these groups in Denver, in 1920. The plan was extended to six cities in 1921 and in that year the Y.W.C.A. organized a group of girls in Denver. Groups for girls were organized in Denver, Cleveland, and Atlanta in 1922; and for men in Wichita, Omaha, and Cleveland. This plan has been modified by experience and even more widely followed by the Y.W.C.A. Some groups have been for men and women. Much promotion of the plan has come since 1928 through the office of James Myers of the Federal Council of Churches, especially through his book, *Religion Lends a Hand*. The same plan has also been followed by a Yale group working in the Ford Plant in Detroit under the leadership of Professor Jerome Davis.

This realm of social evangelism and action is one in which it is impossible to separate the activity of the Student Y.M.C.A. from that of the Student Y.W.C.A. staff and councils. In fact, the most significant activities in this field, whether conceived separately or jointly, have been sponsored and carried through jointly. It was the Economics Commission of the National Council of Christian Associations which, under the chairmanship of Francis Henson, made the study which resulted in the publication of a booklet *Toward a New Economic Society*. The radical nature of this report, exaggerated in the current press reports, led to controversy and some loss of financial support. In the foreword of the booklet it is made clear that both movements have "a fundamental interest in helping its members discover and demonstrate in life situations the economic and social implications of being a Christian." Possibly one of the most hopeful develop-

ments in this realm is the steady growth since 1925 of the same kind of social concern among the leaders—students, university pastors, and board secretaries—of the work of the organized church student groups in the state and larger independent universities.

The Student Christian Movement and Race Relationships. As an integral part of this new realism about the world has come about the steady growth of a more Christian policy in the realm of race relationships. It is important here to pay tribute to the pre-war leadership in better race relationships given by Dr. Mott and Dr. W. D. Weatherford, Southern Student Y.M.C.A. Secretary 1901-1919, in producing books, drawing thousands of southern students into study courses on Negro life, holding special conferences of professors, organizing and helping finance after the War the Commission on Interracial Coöperation to which Dr. Will Alexander has given such remarkable leadership. Without this pioneering, the more radical experiments of recent years would have been difficult, if not impossible.

Although the broad policy has involved all racial groups, the touchstone of the sincerity of any race policy in the United States must first be found in its relations to Negroes and Negro life. The Y.M.C.A. in Negro schools and colleges by 1923 had become "the largest intercollegiate organization among colored students." Channing Tobias, the National Secretary of the movement, reported "Associations in 123 out of 200 colleges and a membership of more than 8,000 men. The leadership is mostly voluntary, there being only three Associations with secretaries giving full time to the work.² There were then two summer conferences, one at Gibsland, La., and one at King's Mountain, N. C., and Negro students were finding their first outlet for foreign missionary activity in their support of Max Yergan's work for the Y.M.C.A. in South Africa. By 1925 there were 145 Associations in 22 states, with a membership of 12,000. More important than numerical growth was the changed temper of the

² Channing H. Tobias, "The Y.M.C.A. in American Negro Colleges," *The Student World*, April, 1923 (Quoted in Edward G. Carroll Study: See Bibliography).

Negro Student Movement, which was becoming on the one hand more self-conscious and constructively aggressive as a racial movement and on the other more eager for solidarity on a Christian basis with their white fellow-students. The continual growth in numbers and significance has been due in large part to the fact that it has had in its national secretaryship men of the caliber of Mordecai Johnson, George E. Haynes, Channing Tobias, and its present secretary (1934) Frank T. Wilson.

As an important part of the Colored Men's Department of the National Y.M.C.A. Committee, this work in Negro institutions was separate, administratively, from the national work of the Student Y.M.C.A. The staffs for both white and Negro colleges had joint meetings and the first meeting of the National Council of Student Associations provided for representation from the Negro Student Councils. This, however, was not enough and student staff and councils, Negro and white, worked for "the early realization of a Student Movement united in organic as well as spiritual identity and fellowship with respect to Negro students throughout the country" (Hightstown Meeting National Council Student Associations, September, 1929)—a goal which was more slowly achieved than some students desired largely because it seemed to involve separation from other phases of colored men's Y.M.C.A. work, against which there were many weighty arguments both racial and economic. But we see here again how much more a student Christian organization is controlled by the basic elements of Christian message and the university setting with its urge for intercollegiate fellowship than it is by any organizational connections, even when they involve such weighty considerations as racial solidarity. Here we see also the strength of the council system of the Student Y.M.C.A., which, from an organizational standpoint, kept pressure on the student and colored men's departments of the Y.M.C.A. until at the Annual Meeting of the National Council of Student Christian Associations at Oberlin, April 6-9, 1933, action was taken creating a Men's Student Christian Movement, made up of the councils and staffs of both the Negro and white Student Associations. Here the Student Y.M.C.A.'s. followed the National Student Council of the

Y.W.C.A., which several years before had organized its staff and council on an interracial basis.

More important for both movements than this organizational change has been the evolution of its interracial policy from the pre-war plans of "*study* of the racial problem" to the gaining of appreciation for the culture and achievements of the Negro race; and from that to real Christian student solidarity in thought and action without distinction as to racial lines. For the National Student Y.M.C.A. the turning point in policy came in an act of solidarity on the part of its staff. For years it had been the custom of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. (like most other National Christian Boards and Church Councils) to hold an autumn meeting at one of the well-known hotels on the Boardwalk at Atlantic City and to have all the traveling secretaries, white and colored, as their guests. On economic grounds this was justified because the hotel made a very low rate for the conference. Because of restrictions governing all of the "Boardwalk hotels" it was impossible for the colored secretaries to be entertained in this hotel; they were obliged to go to much less desirable hotels in the "black belt" of Atlantic City. The growing racial convictions of the student secretaries had led them to protest against meeting in any place where colored colleagues could not receive equal treatment with themselves. Similar protests had been made by secretaries of other departments of the Y.M.C.A. The plan had been made for holding, in October, 1922, this annual meeting and an International Convention at Atlantic City in October, 1922. When protests against the meeting place seemed ineffectual, the student secretaries, led by a southern member of the staff, decided that if their Negro colleagues could not be entertained with them, they would take accommodations with their Negro colleagues in a Negro hotel. No attempt was made to make an issue of this in the convention, or in any way to make the action obvious to the convention delegates. It was not necessary. This kind of protest did its work: no national meeting of secretaries or lay leaders of the Y.M.C.A. has been held since at Atlantic City, and no national meeting is now held in any other place without careful investigation of the readiness to treat both

white and Negroes on a basis of equality—a practice happily followed now by most other national Christian agencies.

Since this is also the settled policy of the Y.W.C.A., it has meant that all national Student Christian Movement conferences, whether joint or separate, are planned on the basis of interracial equality. On so delicate a problem as this in national life, the most careful arrangements will sometimes miscarry, as did this notably and tragically in the National Faculty-Student Conference at Detroit in 1930. This is not the place to assess blame; the important fact historically about the thirty-hour all-conference discussion of what to do in the light of evident racial discrimination was that it revealed dramatically how contrary such discrimination was to all philosophy and practice of the Student Christian Movements; it demonstrated, too, the extraordinary care which must be exercised by groups in American life proposing to work on a basis of equality of treatment for the races.

That this racial policy has equal significance in relation to guest students from oriental countries—especially Japan and India—is evidenced by much data. The son of a man high in the national government left his fraternity to live with fifteen foreign students whom he gathered together in the face of local opposition. Perhaps an even more striking expression of the wider implications of this problem of equal treatment for the races was found in the resolutions passed by Negro students in the King's Mountain and Waveland Summer Y.M.C.A. Conferences in 1924 opposing "the brusque and discourteous treatment accorded Japan by the Congress of the United States in the recent immigration law" and requesting the executive student secretary of the Y.M.C.A. "to convey to Japanese students our profound sympathy for them in the treatment accorded their nation."

For the Student Christian Movement the policy was clear: "Students feel that it is not a time merely to talk about religion; it is a day to act courageously, to practice generous brotherhood; to denounce old alliances between Christianity and imperialism; and to grapple with the industrial exploitation of backward peoples. They match Bible study with a study of world conditions."

Contrary to popular expectations, the most progressive leader-

ship in the field of interracial relationships is coming from *southern* white and Negro students. The drift toward doing the work of the Student Christian Movement on an interracial basis has been very marked since 1929. Here the councils and secretaries of the Student Y.W.C.A., Student Y.M.C.A., and Student Volunteer Movement have worked with a single policy. The Student Volunteer Movement State Conferences have for a number of years been on an interracial basis. The progress can be best visualized by the testimony of southern Student Christian Movement leaders, men and women, who say that they have gone so far that it rarely occurs to them in setting up student conferences to raise the question whether it is for white or Negro students—it is for students; therefore it must be for both. The most dramatic symbol of this progress is the Atlanta Intercollegiate Council, organized in 1930. In its beginning the Council was a joint project of the field councils of the Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A., both white and Negro, and was backed morally and financially by the National Council of Christian Associations; "since three years ago it has held several very interesting conferences, always on an interracial basis, without any kind of segregation or discrimination, and has helped to hold the South-Wide Atlanta Conference with two hundred delegates from the ten states." To Claud Nelson and Frank Wilson (Y.M.C.A.) and Carrie Meares and Juanita Saddler (Y.W.C.A.) and their student field councils belongs the credit for this advanced interracial experiment. The Atlanta Conference met December 28-31, 1932. Its theme was "The Responsibility of the Forces of Religion in Building the South of Tomorrow," and its program was wholly shaped by students and professors of white and colored Christian Associations.

The Student Christian Movement and War. There is also a new realism about the problem of war. Here the position of the Movement must be seen both through its acts and its declarations. It stood by secretaries and students of known pacifist convictions throughout the War. It came out of the War convinced that "the youth of the world has in its own hands the settling of this age-long curse and the absolute duty to do all in its power to

fight the causes leading to war and war itself as a means of settling international disputes." The World's Student Christian Federation Conference in Peking in 1923 was epoch-making both because of its anti-war resolutions and because events forced it to face the implications of the anti-Christian movement in China. The Federation's action on war quickened the "no-more-war" programs of the American movement.

The establishment and strengthening of the R.O.T.C. in the land-grant colleges and in many larger independent universities as well as its extension to many high schools created for student Y.M.C.A. leadership a problem not faced in the same acute way by the Y.W.C.A. or by any of the Christian student organizations which have both men and women members. Some university Y.M.C.A.'s. have avoided the issues involved in this question, accepting the theory put forward by some university presidents that the Y.M.C.A.'s. are "guests on the campus" and therefore must not disturb students on such an issue. Whatever may be the status of any Christian Association secretary or university pastor on the campus, the two hundred years of Christian student society history presented in this volume should show that the societies themselves are not guests but are as indigenous as are classrooms and that in these societies there is an ineradicable urge for activity on controversial issues in concert with Christian students in other colleges. Many other Associations, however, and the whole leadership of regional and national student councils and staffs have taken the position that there is no justification for a compulsory R.O.T.C., either on military or educational grounds, and that where continued it should become elective. In support of this position it is significant that in June, 1934, the University of Minnesota put the R.O.T.C. on an elective basis. More than this, the stand of the Associations has been one of giving encouragement to any student who felt that on grounds of conscience he should be released from the requirement of military drill. This has involved protecting both students and secretaries, a number of whom have found it necessary to give up their secretaryships because of their opposition on Christian grounds to the compulsory R.O.T.C. "The Christian Associations," says one

of the reports of the Student Movement, "are impelled to urge their members, while yet in college, to act honestly, courageously, and sacrificially on the best light they can discover, even if such action goes counter to certain social traditions." Since its organization, the Associations have coöperated closely with the Committee on Militarism in Education, whose secretary has been Tucker P. Smith, a former student Y.M.C.A. secretary. Said Mr. Smith: "I should give great praise to the local Associations. In its origin our work leaned heavily upon local Y leaders and those consecrated students who felt a greater loyalty to Jesus than to Mars. We still depend upon local student secretaries and upon student conferences for a great deal of the strength of the peace movement."

The Intercollegiate Disarmament Council which, since the autumn of 1930, has rendered such excellent service in directing and mobilizing student thinking on disarmament, was the outgrowth of discussions begun by the Yale delegation at the Northfield Conference and matured by the American delegation at the World's Student Christian Federation Conference at Vaumarcus in Switzerland in August, 1930. The student at the center was Luther Tucker, then president of the Christian Association at Yale (Dwight Hall), and in 1934 a student at Union Theological Seminary and American representative on the World's Student Christian Federation Executive Committee. In its beginnings this Council was greatly aided by Charles E. Corbett, secretary of the Christian World Education Committee of the Council of Christian Associations. The activity of this Council and the World's Student Christian Federation secretaries in Geneva made possible the presentation of youth's point of view on disarmament by James Green of Yale at the Petitions Day meeting of the Disarmament Conference.

As early as 1924 the National Council of Student Associations meeting at Yale voted that "it is the sense of this meeting that in the event of another war it is a matter of grave doubt whether we, as Christians, could have any part in it." At the Milwaukee National Student Conference, 1926, 347 of the 2,296 delegates declared that they would "not support any war." Stimulated by

the vote of the Oxford University Debating Union to the effect that under no circumstances would they ever again "fight for King or Country," a poll of American student sentiment was taken by the Disarmament Council in the spring of 1933, with results similar to those of the British poll.

The New Christian Internationalism. Another way in which this new realism expressed itself was in a wider and deeper internationalism. Until the beginning of the World War the main channels for expressing the internationalism inherent in the student societies were through participation in the foreign missionary enterprise and achievement of a sense of comradeship with Christian students around the world. After the War a third channel was added—that of responsible connection through study and action with the great world issues that threaten the peace of the world and the security of Christian values.

The first striking expression of this change came in the midst of the War when in December, 1917, under the auspices of the Student Volunteer Movement, there assembled at Northfield eight hundred men and women students who sought an answer to the question: "Does Christ offer an adequate solution for the burning social and international questions of the day?" As a continuation of the \$1,500,000 campaign for war work funds which they had recently completed, these students proposed a program for drawing into Bible, mission, and social-study groups, two hundred thousand of their fellow students. The determination of the students to "enlist thousands of students to give their lives for the making of a new Christian world" was also expressed in a new Christian lifework-recruiting campaign involving five hundred colleges and carried out under the leadership of Wellington H. Tinker (Middle Atlantic Field Secretary for the Y.M.C.A.) in coöperation with the Inter-Church World Movement.

From the 1917 Northfield Conference until the present (1934) the range of international interests has been constantly widening. In this realm of study and activity the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have done their most significant united work, locally and nationally. Here, with the Student Volunteer Movement, they have thought through the implications of this wider Chris-

tian world-view for the foreign missionary enterprise. There was wide questioning about the philosophy of the foreign missionary enterprise. This first came to focus in a vivid way in the revolt against the programs of the Des Moines Student Volunteer Convention (1919). The basic questions were simply those recently raised by the report of the Laymen's Foreign Missionary Inquiry (1933), involving both the nature and methods of the foreign missionary enterprise and its place and message in the wider setting of Christian internationalism. To Student Movement leaders it had become clear that foreign missions could no longer be the exclusive channel through which Christians should work for "the drawing of all mankind into one family." Questions of Mexico, Nicaragua, World Court, League of Nations, Washington Conference, War, Disarmament Conference, Sino-Japanese problems, "gun-boat protection" for missionaries, racial discriminations in America, South Africa, India, and Europe, seemed to students and to Student Christian Movement leaders to be as much a part of the world responsibility of a Christian movement as foreign missions. In this discovery of the changes in philosophy and the widening range of urgent tasks involved in the new crusade for a Christian world, the student movements have had the counsel of the best international minds, both missionary and foreign policy, including the constant coöperation of such missionary statesmen as Dr. Mott, Dr. Robert E. Speer, Dr. John Mackay, and scores of other mission board secretaries and missionaries. The active participation in the work of the movements, through writings and committee leaderships, of professors of missions such as Professor Daniel J. Fleming of Union Theological Seminary and Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale, has been of inestimable worth in making this after-war transition in policy and programs. Contributing to a symposium in *The Intercollegian* on "A World Policy for a Student Movement" (January, 1932) Professor Fleming (chairman of the foreign missions section of the Christian World Education Committee) made articulate the convictions of the most thoughtful student Association leaders when he said: "Men to match these times must be God-conscious and world-minded. They will not be starving

on their own resources, nor will they have a fragmentary interest . . . When one is eager to bring about sound justice, international peace, and racial good will it makes an immense difference whether we look upon these conceptions as expressions merely of our own aspirations and desires or whether we believe there is something in the universe which corresponds with them and lends them support."

The new passion for a Christian world made necessary a radical reorientation in the thinking and methods of the Student Volunteer Movement. The turning point for the Volunteer Movement also came at Des Moines (1919), where protest meetings called for a radical change in the assumptions and methods underlying future Student Volunteer activity and conventions. The results of these protests were dramatized in 1923 at Indianapolis. Perhaps no other Quadrennial Convention has been so highly multiplying in its influence. This convention did what was desperately needed at that moment—it made vivid the central and enduring place of foreign missions in this constantly-widening setting of Christian world interest. It also gave Christian passion and direction to the students' new-found interest in issues of race, war, and the social order. In spite of its great contribution at the moment, the Indianapolis Convention also demonstrated the impossibility of covering adequately in a convention the whole range of Christian Student interest and the necessity for occasional national meetings of the Student Christian Movement, which would be separate from the Quadrennial Conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement. It is indicative of the central place of foreign missions that from 1877 until 1925 the only national meetings of the Student Christian Movement—Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.—were the Quadrennial Conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement. With the holding, under the auspices of the C.C.A., at Milwaukee, in 1926, of the first of a series of national conferences to be devoted to the wider concerns of the Student Christian Movement, it became possible for the Student Volunteer Movement in its two succeeding conventions, Detroit (1927) and Buffalo (1931), to center again more sharply on the distinctive aspects of the foreign missionary task of today,

but doing this in the light of the wider setting. Here one must acknowledge the debt of the Student Movement to the extraordinary leadership that the Student Volunteer Movement has given to its missionary interests through its general secretaries Fennell P. Turner, Robert P. Wilder, and Jesse Wilson; its educational secretaries J. Lovell Murray, Milton T. Stauffer, and Raymond P. Currier; and its chairmen John R. Mott, Joseph Robbins, and E. Fay Campbell; as well as to the host of others who have traveled for it in the colleges.

As we have seen, the Student Volunteer Movement in its beginning was created to avoid the possibility of student missionary organization separate from the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., and it had a form of organization that made it the missionary department of these two movements. If there had been a united men and women's movement in 1888 the Student Volunteer Movement would have been organized as a department of that movement. Several factors between 1915-1934 have contributed to a larger degree of separateness, the two most important being the increase in number of Christian student groups in the colleges to which it must relate itself and the formation in 1926 of a General Council (first meeting at Oberlin, September 4-9, 1926) "which is 65 per cent student" and in which policies and programs were determined. In the words of Jesse Wilson, "It is 'student' and 'missionary.' In spirit and in administration it is definitely student; in purpose and program it is distinctly missionary." In 1933 this Council took the lead in proposing a new student Christian movement in which both missionary and general Christian interests would be included.

Possibly the most dramatic evidence of this wider international concern has been found in the work of the Christian World Education Committee of the Council of Christian Associations. The secretaries of this committee have been Willa Young and Charles S. Corbett. This work represented an advanced educational program and the fact of its being jointly sponsored gave it wider significance. Under its direction the Christian Associations have promoted scores of Model League of Nations Assemblies, World Economic Conferences. Books and other literature on varied

international issues have been published and distributed. A special Committee, with Henry P. Van Dusen as executive secretary, conducted a nation-wide campaign on the World Court issue, raising a special fund of \$20,000 for this purpose. This was the most thorough-going effort ever made to enlist student study and action on a pressing public issue. Teams of speakers representing all phases of international interest, including that of foreign missions, have, under the leadership of Charles Corbett, held Christian World Education Institutes in the colleges. In the year 1930 there were such institutes in one hundred colleges. Dr. Mott that same year led discussions on foreign missions in intercollegiate conferences in fifteen strategic city centers.

Perhaps in no one of the international expressions of the life of the Student Christian Movement has there been a greater change than in the relation to the World's Student Christian Federation. To the average student Association officer before the war, the World's Student Christian Federation was a splendid but distant bureau or movement uniting students of the world and in some way carrying on programs of world-wide evangelism. The reality and compelling power of that unity was lacking. Even the Mohonk meetings of the World's Student Christian Federation in 1913 did little to alter that feeling. This was the fault not of the Federation nor of its officers; it was an inevitable consequence of our geographical and spiritual isolation. In the midst of the madness of the War the Federation with its unbroken Christian fellowship and its ministries of Christian love to fighting forces and prisoners without distinction of "sides" took on new meaning. In the years since, the growth of Federation consciousness has been steady among students and its causes and values have colored their thinking and program building. In 1934, hundreds of student leaders in both the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. see the Federation, not as an office in Geneva nor as a movement separate from their own movement, but as themselves discovering and facing with the mind of Christ the issue of life and the world in conscious comradeship with Christian students throughout the world. The World's Student Christian Federation most truly lives when any college Christian Association or field council brings the re-

sources of God in Christ to any of the barriers separating men—ecclesiastical, national, racial—and through that act sees some barrier broken down and experiences the inner meaning of being a member of the Holy Catholic Church. It would have been unthinkable even in 1925 that large groups of students would have come as they have in 1933-34 to model World's Student Christian Federation Conferences, such as have been held at Hamilton, Ontario, with the Canadian and American Movement co-operating and in the Southwest, New England, and other parts of the country.

Many factors have brought about this new Federation consciousness. One of the most important has been the continuous leadership given by Francis P. Miller, first as executive secretary and then in 1927 succeeding Dr. Mott as chairman. His active chairmanship has made him available in conferences and colleges in all parts of the United States, as in other parts of the world. The meetings of the Federation Message Commission and 'Leaders' Retreat at Williamstown, Mass., and of the Executive Committee at Howard's Island, Lake Memphremagog, Quebec, in July, 1931, quickened the sense of the American Movement's partnership in the work of the Federation as did the increased representation of American students in American-European and Federation conferences like Vaumarcus and La Châtaignerie in Switzerland—conferences that are becoming international seminars where Christian students discuss the most urgent contemporary challenges to Christian faith and experience. The American Movement has been fortunate in having visits from officers of the Federation and leaders of national movements such as Dr. T. Z. Koo of China, a former vice-chairman, Miss Gertrude Rutherford of Canada, Dr. A. Herbert Gray of England, Dr. Hans Lilje of Germany, Mr. Henry Louis Henriod of Switzerland, and Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, the Federation general secretary. In consequence of the widening opportunity for participation in Federation fellowship and leadership there are now in the United States many besides the chairman who have carried Federation responsibilities. Luther Tucker (Executive Committee member) and Brewster Bingham made a tour of colleges in the

Orient on behalf of the Federation. Professor Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary is chairman of the Federation's Commission on "Christian Faith and Life." The author, during the years 1931-32-33, served for sixteen months as a special secretary, representing the American Movement, in the European work of the Federation. The executive secretaries of both the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and many of the members of their staffs have shared in the fellowship and work of many Federation committees. Francis Henson has given much leadership to the Federation's Committee on Christianity and Communism.

The Student Y.M.C.A. and the Changing Educational Scene. Another expression of the new realism of the Student Y.M.C.A. leadership has been found in its activity on behalf of changes in the objectives and methods of higher education that would provide a setting in which intelligent, socially-informed Christian experience could develop naturally. Here the leadership of national staff members—Raymond B. Culver, W. J. Kitchen, and Harold W. Colvin—has meant much. The educational atmosphere in too many American colleges has stifled intellectual curiosity, independence, and spiritual adventure. The problems of religion in our complex universities are not going to be solved just through the work of religious agencies, no matter how effective these may be. In its assumptions, educational processes, and human relationships, the *milieu* in which these movements function must certify the validity of religious values. For three years the Student Y.M.C.A., under the chairmanship of Dr. James C. Baker (now Bishop Baker) of the University of Illinois, carried on national studies through its "Advance Program Commission," using on its sub-committees its own leaders and many distinguished educators outside the movement, summarizing the studies in a widely-circulated and influential report entitled *The College Situation and Student Responsibility*. In this field, the most significant leadership came from the Associations in the Middle West. They promoted many state and local conferences and in 1925 a committee representing these Associations (Edward H. Hinckley, Reginald Bell, and Owen E. Pence) summarized

their studies in a pamphlet entitled *A Study of the Present Position of the Student Young Men's Christian Association in Relation to Higher Education*. A notable conference was held at Princeton in 1926 (for this Henry P. Van Dusen served as executive secretary) which brought together more than a hundred college presidents and religious educators for a week-end of searching discussion of these questions. Its report was issued under the title *Religion in the Colleges*. The Christian Associations have promoted many faculty-student conferences to discuss the problems of religion and education, the most significant of these being the National Faculty-Student Conference under the auspices of the Council of Christian Associations held in Detroit, December, 1930, and bringing together nearly one thousand students and professors. It really was a national forum on the major curricular and extra-curricular problems which have significance for religion and religious movements. Its report—a valuable source book on these problems—was published under the title *Education Adequate for Modern Times*. It is not too much to say that many significant changes in higher education in the years 1920-1934 have come about as the result of student-faculty conferences on education stimulated by Detroit or similar meetings of the Student Christian Movement. The author was interested to find that the initiative for starting similar inquiries in some of the modern universities in Great Britain had come from leaders of the British Student Christian Movement.

Changing Conceptions of Christian Message. This entire chapter has dealt with changes in Christian message. With the blueprints for religion and the social order destroyed, it is not surprising to find some haziness in the theological picture. The most significant national effort to clarify the vague religious thinking of the period was in the first National Student Christian Movement Conference promoted by the Council of Christian Associations at Milwaukee in December, 1926, where the discussion of the twenty-five hundred delegates centered around "The Resources of Jesus for the Life Today." In evangelism great changes have taken place. Since the early part of this period it has not been easy in the older or bigger universities to hold large

campaigns of evangelism similar to those led before the War by John R. Mott, Sherwood Eddy, Harry Emerson Fosdick, or even the social evangelism campaigns like those of Raymond Robins and the Honorable J. Stitt Wilson. There has, however, been a great increase, locally and in intercollegiate life, of small groups, sharing in fundamental discussions of religion and in experiences of corporate worship. One of the external signs of this is the large number of college Y.M.C.A.'s. that own small cabins where religious discussions and retreats can take place.

The whole period has been characterized, paradoxically, by a seeming indifference to religion (or, *more accurately*, lack of clear sense of need for religion) and at the same time by a wistfulness for something which would give more meaning to life. This situation has expressed itself in a student aversion to mass efforts and formal groups and in an eagerness for intimate informal group discussions of the problems of religious experience. Students who "fought shy" of "big meetings" or "enrolment" in Bible-study groups would nevertheless discuss religion—all night or over a long week-end in comradeship with one whose knowledge of religion (personal or social) seemed rooted in experience rather than in hearsay. In no other period has there been more *student* discussion of religion or less response to regimentation either as to assumptions or methods of religion. This attitude is reflected also in the contemporary student tendency (revealed in several recent studies) to elect courses in the fundamentals of religion in preference to biblical courses where both are offered on an elective basis as a part of the college curriculum. Recognizing this difficulty, but convinced regarding the central and indispensable place of open-minded study of the records of the life of Jesus, the student movements have abandoned the attempts to popularize Bible study by campaigns with big numerical goals and the standardized voluntary study curriculum with its graded courses. In their place they have substituted frequent informal religious retreats and discussions, more corporate worship, plans for intensive Bible study for students, secretaries, and professors in positions of leadership and a persistent emphasis on basing the movement's thought and action on the issues of contemporary

personal social life in the view of God and the world which one finds most perfectly incarnated in the life of Jesus Christ. Many have helped the Associations in this transition but two names stand out above others: those of Professor Henry B. Sharman of Canada, in whose summer Bible Study Camps many of the staff members and student leaders (in company with their Canadian movement colleagues) have been trained; and Professor Bruce Curry of Union Theological Seminary, who through his books and more than two years given to training leaders in local and intercollegiate Bible Study Conferences has done more than any one else to make possible vital Bible study in situations where all the odds seemed against it. At the same time these years have been characterized by more honest and fearless Christian idealism than any other time in the two hundred years of Christian Student Society history. The worship aspects of all intercollegiate conferences have been more significant than ever before. It has not, however, been a period in which traditional methods of evangelism or religious terminology has been of much use. One of the reasons for the success of the Oxford Group Movement has been its freedom from conventional religious phraseology and its use of the "house-party" method.

There seemed to be an unreality about the assumptions and methods of the big campaigns that made it difficult to use them. There are signs, however, of the beginnings of a new interest here and in other lands in occasions when religion becomes a matter of concern for an entire university. All-University Religious Conferences, such as those promoted by the University of Illinois Y.M.C.A., are becoming more frequent. Religion and Life Weeks have been promoted by the British Movements and the years 1933-34 have witnessed crowds of students in French universities attending Student Missions addressed by men like Professor André Philip, Pierre Maury and Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft. Moreover, in many moderate-sized colleges valuable campaigns of evangelism go forward every year under the leadership of A. J. ("Dad") Elliott, and the National Commission on Spiritual Emphasis; probably no other person in Student Movement life has done so much to promote the cause of evangelism as "Dad"

Elliott, for many years secretary for the Middle West. Three great leaders in world and university religious life whose timeless message has made them as effective as guides for the Student Movement in the new day as in the period before 1915, are Dr. John R. Mott, Dr. Robert E. Speer, and Bishop William T. McDowell.

With the exception of the first few years after the War Personal Evangelism Institutes, such as those conducted by Professor Henry B. Wright, Charles Campbell, and Dr. W. D. Weatherford, have not been promoted. How far the development of psychiatric work and the personal counseling movement has been responsible for this change it is difficult to say. Certainly there is today a more needy field than ever before for the Student Christian Movements and church groups in personal religious counseling. The Edward W. Hazen Conferences at Lisle, N. Y., and Estes Park, Colorado, and their agency plan should help greatly in this urgent task. The book, widely used in 1923-25, *Personal Evangelism Among Students* by George Stewart and Henry B. Wright, still is the most helpful printed guide for personal work. There has been only one national discussion of membership basis. That led to the adoption by the Atlantic City Convention of 1922 of the present purpose basis of membership. With the rapidly-changing college situation this is now too static for the religious needs of students. The situation from 1927-1934 is vastly more hopeful for clear thinking and convictions on Christian message than that of the earlier years in this period. There has been no time in the history of the Movement when so many able younger leaders were available and giving themselves to the delivering of messages and the new evangelism than the present. A movement that at this moment provides a channel for the leadership and message of such prophetic voices as those of George Stewart, Henry P. Van Dusen, Robert L. Calhoun, Mordecai Johnson, Halford E. Luccock, Reinhold Niebuhr, Francis P. Miller, Allan Hunter, Thomas W. Graham, Charles W. Gilkey, Walter M. Horton, Howard Thurman, Wilhelm Pauck, and Bruce Curry, has in it great hope. Two other facts are reviving discussion of Christian message on a basis

worthy of the present moment. One is the sense of need of a unifying basis for our solidarity with Christian students around the world. Here the World's Student Christian Federation Commission on Message is helping greatly. The other factor is the 1933-34 discussion of the message basis for a new Student Christian Movement. The effort to develop a better Student Christian Movement that is at the same time catholic and prophetic may help to clarify the wistful but vague religious thinking of this period.

The Wider Coöperative Relationships. Just as there has been a turning to new ways in issues and message of the Student Y.M.C.A., so there has been in matters of organization and wider relationships. Organizationally, the university religious situation is totally different from that of before the War. Although church student work in the state universities had its beginnings as early as 1900, its rapid development began only in the last years of the War. Today there are nearly as many denominational university pastors giving three-quarters or full time to student work as there are Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. secretaries. The growing identity in training and outlook of secretaries and university pastors, the inevitable evolution of church student groups towards an interdenominational outlook, and many experiments in united church and Christian Association work, such as those at the University of Pennsylvania, Cornell, University of Iowa, the New England State Colleges, the University of California at Los Angeles—these changes have put the work of the Student Y.M.C.A. (and Y.W.C.A.) in quite a different setting from that of before the War. Another important change has been the development of administrative interest in programs of religion, involving "deans of religion" or "directors of religious life" (e.g., at Miami, Princeton, Chicago, and Syracuse) or Advisor to Student Religious Organizations. Nationally, the relationships of the Movements are much wider and more complicated. Besides the national church boards and the Council of Church Boards of Education there are agencies like the National Council of Religion in Higher Education, the Edward W. Hazen Foundation, and the Conference of Church Workers in Colleges and Universities,

Equally important as distinctive contributions by Christian student societies has been the steady growth in united work by the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. [Leslie Blanchard, Executive Secretary]. This was visualized by the organization in 1921 of a National Council of Christian Associations. Its annual meetings, usually held in conjunction with the meetings of the National Student Councils, have done much to heighten the sense of unity. The method of composition of this body has changed from time to time, but its functions have been that of an informal council to which the two movements might commit tasks which were better performed jointly. It has never been an overhead body, yet the movements have committed to it some very important tasks for administration, such as the Student Friendship Funds, the Christian World Education program (employing two secretaries), the World Court Campaign, and the relationships with the World's Student Christian Federation. Among its many studies three appeared in printed form and deserve special mention. Reference has already been made to the report of the Economics Commission, chaired by Francis Henson, *Toward a New Economic Society*. A commission chaired by the author submitted a report on *The Place and Function of the Christian Association in the Present University Situation*. The most ambitious project was a study of the sex problems of youth which appeared as a book, edited by Grace Loucks Elliott and Harry Bone, under the title *The Sex Life of Youth*.

But more important than this national enterprise has been the spread of joint projects regionally and locally. Quite a few Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.'s. have united in a Christian Association (as at the University of Iowa and Vanderbilt). Many others have councils through which they do much work jointly. The joint summer conference first pioneered at Estes Park (1925) by the Rocky Mountain region has been copied until, in 1934, the conferences were for both men and women in all but two regions (New England and the Central Region). Many small inter-collegiate conferences are also now held more frequently jointly than separately.

In the Central Region this tendency expressed itself early in

local C.C.A.'s. and in a regional C.C.A. In the large universities of the Middle West the tendency on the part of both Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. leaders has been to place much more stress on functional unity than on organizational unity. For a combination of reasons—historical, educational, and religious—the sense of the value of the relation of these student Associations to the wider general movements—Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.—is stronger here than in any other section of the United States. It is because of this that the Central Region may be of great service in helping to bring into being the kind of new Student Christian Movement that develops a sense of common cause among all organized Christian groups while, at the same time, it finds a way for groups—local or regional, church or Christian Association—to preserve the values in their historical association with other general Christian movements.

If there had been doubt of the vitality of the Student Christian Movements, the historical developments of the years 1933-34 should have dispelled them. The action of men and women students of the Southwestern Region in creating a joint committee (related both to the National Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.) for the supervision of their work and calling a woman (Miss Fern Babcock) to be secretary was the student answer to decreasing national budgets and a logical step forward in the experience in joint work in this region. The rapidity of developments towards a movement in the Middle Atlantic and New England Regions (conceived of as an integral part of an emerging National Student Christian Movement) inclusive of all vital organized Christian student groups, and yet preserving the values of the other historical associations gives further evidence of the changing organizational situation.

This changed situation within the Associations themselves and in the universities, the desire of the leaders of the Student Volunteer Movement for a better and more inclusive Student Christian Movement, the pioneering of the more radical implications of Christian message, and the wider relationships with other Christian Student groups locally and nationally have during this period accentuated the historic separateness of student work in the

Y.M.C.A. brotherhood. This changing sociological situation has been more controlling than most leaders realize. Throughout his entire leadership Porter, as did also Wishard and Mott in their leadership, has kept the student work in loyal affiliation with the Y.M.C.A. and yet has encouraged each next step towards the development of a more self-conscious Student Christian Movement.

The struggle of the Student Y.M.C.A.'s. in 1925-27 for freedom from the dual supervisory system of the Y.M.C.A. and for a recognition of the authority of its Council system was an expression of this same basic student society urge toward a really self-directing Student Christian Movement and not just an internal organizational problem, as it seemed at the time. So acute was this problem and so difficult of solution that in June, 1927, Porter and the Student Department Committee submitted their resignations. This action of protest hastened the decision of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. to give the student work the status of a division, making it largely an independent movement within the Y.M.C.A. Great credit for understanding and magnanimity belongs to the leaders of the general Y.M.C.A. (Dr. Mott, Fred Ramsey, S. Wirt Wiley, John Manley) who worked out the plan for division status with the Student Y.M.C.A. Commission, led by Dean Thomas W. Graham of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, and Charles S. Campbell, chairman of the Student Department Committee.

In no other period have changes affecting the Student Christian Movements in the universities been so rapid and revolutionary as in the years 1927-34. These changes within the Movements and the universities already described make urgent new consideration of the kind of intercollegiate organization essential for a Student Christian Movement that will preserve the values in the relationships of the past while creating a corporate life that will better serve the needs of the future. It was such considerations as these that led the National Student Division Committee of the Y.M.C.A. and the Resident Committee of the National Student Council of the Y.W.C.A. to authorize on January 19, 1934, a National Commission on Consultations about Student Christian

Work (Samuel McCrae Cavert and Esther Lloyd-Jones, chairmen) which through regional meetings during 1934-35 is carrying on consultations regarding "the effectiveness of the Christian mission to the colleges" and the possible need for a new and more inclusive Student Christian Movement.

Other New Ways. We have pictured the leadership in this after-war period as one that was "turning to new ways." This is quite as true of all phases of Student Y.M.C.A. work. The secretaryship has become a developed and self-conscious profession. The large majority of these men have their M.A. or B.D. degrees (a few the Ph.D.), or the equivalent in graduate and professional training. The secretaryship itself, however, is changing and has a dual professional standing: on the one hand as a secretaryship of the Y.M.C.A.; on the other as one phase of a profession of voluntary religious work with students, in which are included also university pastors, directors of religious activities, and deans of religion. This second connection tends to be more controlling than the first. Whatever is basically desirable for the professional training of any of this group of student religious workers is equally desirable for the others.

The period has seen some strong and influential National Assemblies of Student Secretaries, notably those at Estes Park in 1923 and 1929. The promotion of attendance at these Assemblies has become increasingly difficult because of the desire of student secretaries for graduate courses in university summer schools with credit towards advanced degrees. This tendency has been strengthened by the scholarships given through the Edward W. Hazen Foundation to the summer schools for student religious workers at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago and at Union Theological Seminary. The Hazen Conferences at Lisle, New York, and Estes Park, Colorado, for university religious workers have also had training value and strengthened the sense of solidarity. Special departments for the graduate and professional training of university religious workers have been organized at Yale Divinity School and at Southern Y.M.C.A. College.

The conceptions of program have radically changed. The last

Manual of Principles and Methods of Student Y.M.C.A. Work was prepared in 1925 by the author and Herbert Seamans. The assumptions underlying such pamphlets seem so contrary to the conviction that "program should grow out of the local situation" that there is no longer much demand for standardized helps. The break with any conception of standardized program has become so great that it is no longer possible to say what are the characteristic features of any Association. The need now for program resources is recognized and this has been largely met by the series of "Intercollegian Program Papers" produced by a committee of which Thornton W. Merriam was chairman. Officers' training conferences for the training of new student leaders continue in many states. The most significant change in undergraduate training is the plan of summer schools for presidents—a plan first inaugurated at Blue Ridge for the Southern Student Associations but for the years 1930-1934 also held in the East at Union Theological Seminary and jointly sponsored by that institution, Yale Divinity School, and the New England and Middle Atlantic Councils of the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.

There have been marked changes in the program of friendly relations for foreign students. Because this work too has had widening relationships with other groups in the universities and national life, the National Committee for Friendly Relations among Foreign Students has gradually developed an organization distinct from that of the Student Y.M.C.A., but working in friendly relation to it. This important work has had the leadership throughout its history of Charles D. Hurrey, to whom most of the programs for foreign students in America and Europe are more in debt than to any other person. Within the American work there have grown up strong national Associations—such as the Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese—with their national secretaries who, with Mr. Hurrey, form the staff of the general committee. The presence of many of these students in summer and other intercollegiate conferences is another way of making the World's Student Christian Federation a reality.

Under the able editorial leadership of George Irving the movements in the United States and Canada united in March, 1913,

in the publication of a single magazine, *The North American Student*. In the midst of the difficulties of the war period this magazine had to be discontinued and in its place the men's movement in the United States published a Student Section of *Association Men*, then the official Y.M.C.A. magazine. Although this venture had the advantage of emphasizing the unity of student work with the Y.M.C.A., it had the disadvantage of not being distinctly a journal of religious opinion for the students and professors who were leading the thought life of the Movement.

In announcing in the Student Section of *Association Men* (February, 1922) his plan for a new magazine Mr. Porter said, "A new and enlarged *Intercollegian* is a parable. The fresh tides of thought and life among the students of today suggest, in fact demand, new tools for their progress. Religion is not something apart from these live currents; it is not an eddy in the stream. Vital religion has to do with all of student life, helping to enrich, interpret, and guide it. The S.C.M. is sensitive to this new spirit . . . For to what end are students questioning and moving? Is it to be a mere superficial and passing interest? . . . Are we merely warming our hands over old fires, or are fresh fires to be kindled to lighten and warm the world?"

That *The Intercollegian* from 1922-34 has come nearer to being an instrument to serve the high ends implied in this statement than any previous magazine venture of the Movement would seem to be sober historical fact. Probably one of the reasons for this is that associated with the editor (Mr. Porter until 1930; A. R. Elliott, 1930-34) there has been a strong editorial board of movement leaders. In the absence of any special student Y.W.C.A. magazine *The Intercollegian* has tended to become a magazine of the Student Christian Movement, some members of the Y.W.C.A. sitting unofficially on its editorial board. The decision in 1934 to unite with *Far Horizons* (S.V.M. magazine—Raymond P. Currier, editor) is another step in this direction.

Summer conference attendance dropped markedly during the War; there was a sharp rise immediately afterward, then a decline in most regions until 1933, when a gradual improvement began again. The total attendance at all intercollegiate confer-

ences—summer and midwinter—has, however, increased. In the New England and Middle Atlantic regions the mid-winter Northfield and Buck Hill Falls Conferences tend to become quite as much as the summer conferences propagating centers for the life of the Movement. The demand for admission to these conferences is considerably greater than the number accepted.

The work in theological schools is directed by an able committee of which Dr. George Stewart is chairman. There have been national theological conferences in conjunction with all the national Christian Association conferences. There has grown up a series of Inter-seminary Councils, and the best work of the Movement is done through these conferences and the bulletin, *The Interseminarian*.

Mr. Porter began his work in the student field as Preparatory School Secretary. Throughout the years he has kept in touch with this interesting section of the work and has the confidence of a very large number of the headmasters. In no other part of Student Y.M.C.A. work is there such an intimate relation between the institutions and the Movement; many masters and churchmen, such as Bishop John T. Dallas, under the leadership of Dr. Boyd Edwards of Mercersburg Academy, give large amounts of time to the study of the problems of religion in this important field. The change from a conference with college students at Northfield to a separate Preparatory School Conference at Blairstown is the most significant development of the period. This change came under the leadership of Francis P. Miller as Preparatory School Secretary. Among the former secretaries of this important work are George Gleason, Boyd Edwards, Charles Park, Charles W. Gilkey, Arthur Howe, David R. Porter, Francis P. Miller, John Currie, Sewall Emerson, Harold Ingalls, and Harry Taylor. The strength of the Movement is seen in such events as the annual summer conference at Blairstown, and the mid-winter prep school conferences. The concern that these masters have for religion and their sense of relationship to the Movement was demonstrated in September, 1932, when the National Conference of Masters was held at Atlantic City. The

report of the conference, *Religion in the Preparatory Schools*, summarizes the most advanced thinking of this group regarding their problem.

This chapter has dealt in a fragmentary way with a few of the developments and trends in the period 1915-1934. These can be seen in their right proportions only when a history of this period is written as thorough in character as the chapters which deal with 1700-1900. When that is done, it will appear that all of the basic urges of the Christian Student Societies live on but find their expression in new ways for which there is as yet no such guiding goal as the "evangelization of the world in this generation." The facts when rightly portrayed will show a Christian Crusade as stirring and with as much kindling power and adventure as that which characterized the Student Christian Movement from 1877 to 1915.

It is not unique of the Student Y.M.C.A. that after the War it turned toward new ways; all organizations had to do that or die. The important fact is that *even before the War was over* Christian students began turning toward those new ways which subsequent events have shown were prophetic for the future. The most remarkable tribute that can be paid to David Porter's leadership of the Movement in the present chaotic days is the extent to which the story can be told for the first time in the two hundred years of Christian Student Society history as the story of an intercollegiate movement, the destiny of which was in the hands of its members. This policy of trusting students and secretaries to lead in the intercollegiate life of the Movement as they were trusted in their local Christian Associations, was wholly new. It gave the United States an intercollegiate Movement really rooted in the religious life of the universities, responsibly connected with the great issues of the day, seeking and finding a more adequate Christian message and willing to change or lose its organizational forms if by so doing it could help to prepare the way for a Student Christian Movement better fitted to make a distinctive contribution of the Christian Student Societies to the life of our times.

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Hall, Gordon. *Unpublished letters addressed to the Society of Inquiry at Andover*. Printed pamphlet, 1819.

Sermon delivered in the Tabernacle in Salem, February 6, 1812, on occasion of the Ordination of Rev. Messrs. Samuel Newell, A.M., Adoniram Judson, A.M., Samuel Nott, A.M., Gordon Hall, A.M., and Luther Rice, A.B., by Leonard Woods, D.D., Boston; printed and sold by Samuel T. Armstrong, Cornhill, 1812.

Memoirs of American missionaries formerly connected with the Society of Inquiry, respecting missions in the Andover Theological Seminary, embracing a history of the Society (Elias Loomis). Boston; Pierce & Parker, 9 Cornhill, 1833. Pp. 367.

Andover Society of Inquiry History. *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine United* for 1812, Vol. IV. "New Series," Boston, 1812. p. 504. "Communication made by direction of the Society."

Correspondence of the Society of Inquiry with other Student Religious Societies, 1810 to 1845.

mss: Copies of sixty-one letters sent between the dates February 22, 1812, and June 28, 1840, by the Society of Inquiry of Andover Theological Seminary to Christian Student Societies of the following colleges: Yale, Rutgers, Princeton Theological Seminary, Theological Seminary in New York, Dartmouth, Hampden Sidney College, Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church (New Brunswick, N. J.), Middlebury, Williams, Brown University, New York Episcopal Seminary, Illinois College, Newton Theological Institution, Bangor Theological Seminary.

mss: Two hundred and ten letters sent between March 1, 1810, and May 25, 1861, to the Society of Inquiry of Andover Theological Seminary by Christian Student Societies in the following colleges: Marietta College, Union College, Mercer University (Ga.), Wesleyan University (Conn.), Beloit College, Danville Theological Seminary (Danville, Ky.), Brown University, Union Theological Seminary (N. Y.), Bowdoin College, Yale

Divinity School, Hamilton and Madison College, Episcopal Theological School (Alexandria, Va.), Union Theological School (Prince Edward, Va.), Carlisle Theological Seminary, Amherst College, Williams College, Oberlin College, Western Theological Seminary (Pittsburgh, Pa.), Maryville College (Tenn.), Middlebury College, Lane Seminary, University of Georgia (Athens, Ga.), Gettysburg College, Gilmanton Theological Seminary, Bangor Theological Seminary, Kenyon College (Gambier, O.), New York Theological Seminary, Queens College (Rutgers), Yale College, Princeton Theological Seminary, Dartmouth, Princeton College, Union College, Hampden Sidney College, Hamilton College Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, Franklin College (Atlanta, Ga.), Columbian College (Washington, D.C.), Auburn Theological Seminary, Theological Seminary of South Carolina and Georgia (Columbia, S. C.), Western Reserve College, Newton Theological Institution, Centre College (Ky.), Jefferson College (Canonsburg, Pa.), Waterville College (Colby).

MSS: Thirty-two letters by European correspondents—student societies and missionary organizations. The student societies are in: Gosport Seminary (England); The Church Missionary Institution, Islington (England); The University of Glasgow; The Missionary Institute of Paris; l'Union Chretienne, Geneva, Switzerland; The Missionary Institution, Basle, Switzerland, and Rotterdam, Holland.

BROWN

MSS: Records of Early Societies

Praying Society, Reuben Guild

Constitution and Records of Religious Society, Vol. I to III, 1821-1834.

Vol. I Constitution, February, 1821

History of revival, 1820

List of members, 1802-1834

Minutes March 7, 1821, to October 15, 1834

Vol. II Constitution

Members, 1832-1846

Minutes October 25, 1834, to January 13, 1853

Vol. III Constitution revised, December 5, 1848

Members since formation, 1802-1862

Minutes, February 23, 1853, to October 28, 1863

Constitution and Records of Society for Missionary Inquiry, Vols. I and II:

Vol. I Constitution, March 29, 1838

Constitution, October 5, 1840

Names of members, May 20, 1834, to September 16, 1859

Minutes May 20, 1834, to December 9, 1850

Vol. II Historical preamble

Constitution of Society

Names of members

Minutes January 6, 1851, to July 3, 1854

Printed Material:

- Bronson, Walter C. *The History of Brown University*. 1914.
- Brown, Robert P., and others (Editors). *Memories of Brown*. Providence, 1909. Pp. 495.
- MSS: Eighty-eight letters sent between the dates March 31, 1815, and September 27, 1874, to the Christian Student Society of Brown University by the Christian Student Societies of the following colleges: Andover Theological Seminary, Dartmouth College, Madison University, Bowdoin College, Yale College, Williams College, Andover Theological Seminary, Middlebury College, Harvard College, Auburn Theological Seminary, Amherst College, Princeton University, Union College, Baptist Literary & Theological Seminary (Hamilton, N. Y.), Hamilton College, Newton Theological Seminary, Princeton Theological Seminary, New Hampton Literary and Theological Institute, Connecticut Literary Institute, Mercer University, Rochester Theological Seminary, Beloit College, Peirce Academy, Lewisburg University, Granville College.
- MSS: Copies of fourteen letters sent between the dates June 20, 1813, and August 17, 1819, by the Praying Society of Brown University to the Christian Student Societies of: Bowdoin College, Princeton, Andover Theological Seminary, Williams College, Union College, Harvard.

DARTMOUTH

- MSS: Record Books, Theological Society: 1808-1820, 1820-1830, 1830-1838, 1845-1856, 1856-1861.
- MS: Executive Committee Book, Theological Society, 1867-1875.
- MSS: Constitutions of Theological Society and membership records, 3 vols.
- MS: Theological and Missionary Society Constitution and members, 1 vol.
- MS: Constitution of Theological and Missionary Society, 1869, 1 vol.
- MS: Record of Theological and Missionary Society, 1869-1875.
- MS: Record of Christian Fraternity, 1855-June, 1877.
- MSS: Records Society of Inquiry: 1821-1831, 1833-1836, 1836-1846, 1847-1860, 1860-1869.
- MS: Constitution and Historical Sketch of Society of Inquiry, 1831.
- MS: Constitution of Society of Inquiry and members from 1821-1869.
- MSS: Diaries:
- Smedley, Ephraim (Class of 1793), Diary.
- Burton, Asa, D.D. (Dartmouth, 1773-1777). Autobiography of and other posthumous papers. Slade Copy.
- Wood, Henry. "Revivals of Religion in Dartmouth College," *Journal of the American Education Society*, November, 1836; whole No. XXXVIII (Vol. IX, No. 2). Pp. 27 ff.
- Spalding, Dr. James A. (Dartmouth, '66). "Reminiscences of College Life

of Judah Dana of the Class of 1795." *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, Feb., 1917, Vol. IX, No. 4. Pp. 155-165.

MSS: Sixty-four letters sent between November 26, 1813, and March 2, 1843, to the Dartmouth Theological Society, from religious societies of: Gilmanton Theological Seminary (N. H.), Andover, Bangor, Williams, Middlebury, Yale College, Andover Theological Seminary, Lane Seminary, Bowdoin, Waterville College, Brown, Amherst Theological Society, Auburn.

Chandler, Charles H. *History of Theological Society of Dartmouth College*. Dartmouth Press, 1868.

Worcester, Rev. Samuel. *The Life and Labors of Rev. Samuel Worcester*, D.D. (by his son). Boston, 1852. Vol. I. Pp. 467.

HARVARD

I. Material Relating to Mather Societies:

Mather, Cotton. Sermons and copies of essays:

Golgotha, a Lively Description of Death. The funeral sermon of Mr. Recompense Wadsworth. Printed by B. Green for Daniel Henchman at his shop in King St. (1713).

Early Religion (1694). Printed by Benjamin Harris for Michael Perry. Pp. 117.

Treatise (1716). See Evans *Am. Bibli.* "Directions How to Spend the Lord's Evening." Diary, Part II. Pp. 370.

Essays to Do Good (1710). Mass. Sabbath School Society. Boston, 1845. Printed copy in American Antiquarian Society.

Paterna—MS: prepared shortly before his death for the use of his son. Ford Diary, May, 1711—Feb., 1721. Property of late Judge Skinner, Chicago.

Private Meetings Animated and Regulated. Marvin, p. 327.

Proposals for the Revival of a Dying Religion by Well Ordered Societies for that Purpose. Diary, p. 712, Vol. II.

Christianity Demonstrated (1710). Sermon to young men. Printed copy in American Antiquarian Society.

The Pure Nazarite. Advice to a young man concerning impiety and impurity. Boston, 1723.

Magnalia Christi. American Ecclesiastical History to 1698.

The Young Man's Preservative (1701). Vol. 82, Yale College Pamphlets.

Mather, Samuel. *Life of Cotton Mather* (1729).

Mather Society, Bridgewater, Mass. *Golden Rule* (magazine), January 31, 1895.

Marvin, Abijah P. *History of the Town of Lancaster*, 1879. Pp. 798.

The Prince Library. A catalogue of the collection of books and manuscripts which formerly belonged to Rev. Thomas Prince. Now de-

posited in the Public Library of Boston. Alfred Mudge & Sons, City Printers, 34 School Street, Boston, 1870.

Mather Society, Dorchester, Mass. Published report of Centennial exercises, 1798.

History of Dorchester, Mass. Dorchester Antiquarian & Historical Society. Boston, 1859. Pp. 672.

History of Hollis, New Hampshire. Samuel T. Worcester. Boston. 1879. Pp. 394.

Dorchester, Daniel. *Christianity in the United States*. New York, 1888. Pp. 795.

The Christian History (magazine). Boston. Printed by S. Kneeland and T. Green for T. Prince, June, 1744. Pp. 109-110.

Mather Societies. *Congregational Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 3, July, 1859.

II. MSS: Diaries (Treasure Room, Widener Library, Harvard University): Notebook of Warham A. Williams, Class of 1719.

E. Turell, Class of 1721. Manuscript notebook.

T. Trumbull, Class of 1727.

Letters to Ebenezer Hancock (Class of 1760).

S. Williams, Class of 1761. MS. notes, sermons, lectures.

J. Belknap, Class of 1762. College compositions (1759-64).

J. Abbott, Class of 1784. Letters to S. Griffin.

Letters and manuscripts relating to the life of T. Flint, Class of 1800.

T. Tracy, Class of 1806. *Glimpses of Thought*.

Papers and letters of S. Gilman, Class of 1811.

Letters addressed to B. O. Taylor, Class of 1815, by his classmates.

C. A. Ballard, Class of 1819. MS. autobiography.

MS. papers, Class of 1822.

MS. papers, Class of 1825.

Fobes, P. Diary and Commonplace Book, 1759-60.

L. Gould, letter to his brother, 1794.

J. Belcher, MSS. and Commonplace Book, 1727.

Andrew Eliot (Diary). Interleaved almanacs (1734 and 1737).

N. W. Appleton: Letters to E. Pearson, 1773-84 (now edited by William Coolidge Lane. Reprinted from the publications of the Colonial Society, Vol. VII. Cambridge, 1906.)

A. Torrey. Journal, 1821-24.

III. MSS: Society Records:

Harvard Christian Union, 1861-69. Records.

Saturday Evening Society and Society of Christian Brethren, Records. 1802-1870.

Adelphoi Theologia (Society for Religious Improvement). Journal, 1785-1847. Eight volumes.

Catalogues of Books of Adelphoi Theologia, 1855.

Religious Society at Harvard, 1719. Manuscript found at Hammond Trumbull sale and presented by M. B. Brainard to Harvard University. Gives details regarding "Private meeting instituted at Harvard College, 1719." Earliest account of American Student Religious Society.

A Sermon preached in the College at Cambridge, N. E., by Thomas Robie, A.M. Printed by S. Kneeland, Boston, 1721.

Telltale. An undergraduate paper of 1721 circulated in manuscript. Patterned after *The Spectator*. Criticism on the conversation and behavior of scholars to promote right reasoning and good manners. Dates covered by this paper are September 9, 1721, to January, 1724. Contains account of student society organized October, 1722.

Letter sent by the Philadelphian Society at Princeton College to Society of Christian Brethren, Harvard College, November 14, 1865, giving religious statistics for four classes in Princeton College.

MIDDLEBURY

Philadelphian Society, Middlebury College, A.D., 1808. A summary of arguments on the various questions and subjects discussed before the Philadelphian Society, Vols. 1 and 2.

NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH

Twelve letters sent between September 30, 1843, and March 15, 1871, to the Missionary Association of the University of Edinburgh by: Christian Student Societies at Princeton Theological Seminary; l'Ecole de Théologie (Geneva); Toronto Theological Seminary; Free Church College, Halifax; Knox College, Toronto.

Two copies of letters sent by University of Edinburgh Missionary Association to the Rose Street Session House (secession students) and to the Wingolf at Halle, Germany. Also a Report of the Missionary Committee, New College, Edinburgh, November 30, 1850.

PRINCETON

Philadelphian Society Records. Three volumes. (MSS.)

Nassau Hall Bible Society minutes and proceedings, 1813-33. (MSS.)

Proceedings of Nassau Hall Bible Society. Seven volumes. 1814-25.

Nassau Hall Constitution, 1813.

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Nassau Hall Tract Society reports and proceedings, 1814-25.

Glimpses of Colonial Society and the Life at Princeton College, 1766-1773.

By one of the Class of 1763 (W. Paterson). Edited by W. J. Mills, 1903. Pp. 182.

- Blair, Samuel. *Princeton University*. An account of the College of New Jersey, 1764.
 McLean, John. *History of Princeton University, 1746-1854*.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE

- Griffin, Edward D., D.D., President of Williams College. Sermon preached September 2, 1828, at the dedication of the new chapel. Pp. 37.
Mills Theological Society of Williams College, Williamstown, 1853. Pp. 58. Printed.
 Hallock, William A. (Williams, 1810). *Memoir of Rev. Justin Edwards, D.D.* New York (American Tract Society), 1855. Pp. 556. Printed.
 Hale, Edward Everett. *A New England Boyhood*. Boston, 1927. Pp. 208.
 Lehman, Edwin P., and Park, Julian. *A Williams Anthology*, verse and prose, 1798-1910. Cambridge, Mass., 1910. Pp. 221.
 Missionary (Haystack) Jubilee. Report in *Williams Quarterly*, December, 1856. Pp. 187-189.
 Jubilee Celebration of Haystack, August 3-5, 1856.
 Four-page circular, Williams College, Feb. 5, 1855, signed Mark Hopkins, containing a letter of Hon. Byram Green of Sodus, New York, one of Haystack Group, dated August 22, 1854.
N. Y. Observer, August 14, 1856.
Springfield Republican, August 6 and 8, 1856.
The Independent (N. Y.), July 17, 1856. Long biography from Bangor, Maine, dated July 3, 1856, concerning Rev. Harvey Loomis who died first Sabbath of January, 1825, while preaching a sermon on the text "This year thou shalt die."
 S. M. Worcester. Letter from Salem, December 8, 1856. (ms.)
 Williams Haystack Group, Influence of. ms. letter from R. S. Storres (1807), Braintree, October 22, 1840.
 Temperance Societies. Printed address before Temperance Society of Harvard University, November 20, 1834. By L. M. Sargent, Cambridge; 35 pp.; College Pamphlets, Williams; Vol. 14.
 Haystack: The Missionary Jubilee. Boston, 1856; T. R. Marvin & Son. Pp. 35.
Life at Williams (1795). Robbins Thomas, D.D., Diary of Vol. 1, 1796-1825, pp. 1052; Vol. 2, 1826-1854, pp. 1131.
The Autobiography of a Blind Minister. By Timothy Woodbridge, D.D.
 Williams Society of Inquiry. Letter to Society of Inquiry. Some questions asked of missionaries. Taken from reply by Benjamin Schneider Broosa, Asia Minor, June 7, 1837.
 Hall, Gordon. Letter from Northampton, Mass., July 5, 1856. (ms.)
 Richards, James. Letter to his parents, January 29, 1822. (ms.)

- Letter written by Samuel J. Mills to a member of the Society of Brethren at Williams College, dated March 20, 1810, sent from Andover, Mass. (MS.)
- Letter from Samuel J. Mills dated Andover, November 17, 1813, addressed to his sister. (MS.)
- Letter from Rev. Mr. Burgess of Dedham, Mass. (companion of S. J. Mills to Africa), written to the Mills Theological Society. (MS.) (Date uncertain.)
- Letter from Chauncey Eddy, Lanesboro, Mass., April 15, 1855, to Mills Theological Society, describing conditions at Williams College, 1805-1808. (MS.)
- Letter from Byram Green, one of Haystack Group, describing circumstances surrounding organization of the Brethren. (MS.)
- Letter from Samuel T. Worcester to the Missionary Society at Williams College, April 18, 1827. (MS.)
- Letter from Byram Green to Rev. Samuel W. Worcester, February 15, 1857. (MS.)
- Letter from Samuel T. Worcester, Salem, Mass., to Rev. Calvin Durfee, December 8, 1856, regarding Mills Theological Society. (MS.)
- Seventeen letters sent between October 29, 1819, and April 13, 1852, to the Christian Student Society of Williams by the Christian Student Societies of: Madison University, Amherst College, University of Vermont, Beloit College, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton College, Marion College, Auburn Theological Seminary, Andover Theological Seminary, Yale College, Connecticut Literary Institute, Harvard University. (MSS.)

YALE

MSS: Record Books of the Yale Moral Society:

Book A. Transactions, April 6, 1797, through July 22, 1819.

Book B. Transactions, August 10, 1820, through March 10, 1841. Changes in name: became Moral and Theological Society, July, 1828; The Rhetorical Society, October 22, 1834.

Book C. Constitution of The Rhetorical Society; list of members, October, 1834, to October, 1840.

Book D. Revisions of Constitution; list of members, March, 1841, to September 30, 1861.

Book E. Transactions, June 9, 1841, through December 21, 1861.

MSS: Church of Christ in Yale College (organized November 30, 1756). Minutes and Records of Church Committee, December, 1837, to May, 1864.

MS: Society for Christian Research. Record of activities, November 28, 1825, to June, 1837.

MS: United Band of Foreign Missionaries. Constitution and Records, December 4, 1831, through June 17, 1838.

MSS: Yale Missionary Society (earlier name, The Yale College Society of Enquiry Respecting Missions, organized 1818).

Record Book No. 1. Constitution; list of members, October 4, 1852, through 1864.

Record Book No. 2. Minutes, June 7, 1852, to November 6, 1865.

MSS: Diaries and Notebooks:

Roger Newton (class of 1785). Notebook kept while a student at Yale.

Joseph Denison. Diary, October 22, 1788, to July 27, 1789.

John Fitch (class of 1803). Diary, September 7, 1801, to February 28, 1802.

George E. Day. Diary, 1832-1837.

Life of Benjamin Silliman, by George P. Fisher. Printed 1866. Vol. I gives diary of student experiences beginning 1795.

MSS: 26 letters sent between March 14, 1812, and September 25, 1847, to the student societies at Yale by Christian Student Societies in Andover, Brown, Dartmouth and Williams.

SECTION II

GENERAL MANUSCRIPTS AND REPORTS

Autobiographical statement by Robert Weidensall, prepared at the author's request. Pp. 20. (Handwritten ms.)

Confidential report of visits of John R. Mott to universities in Europe and Asia, 1895-96, 1899-1900. About 40 pp. (ms.)

Letter from John R. Mott to Luther D. Wishard, dated July 19, 1889, and reporting to Wishard the Northfield Student Conference, 1889.

The Evolution of the North American Student Movement and the World's Student Christian Federation. By Luther D. Wishard. Prepared in answer to questions proposed by Miss Ruth Rouse of the World Student Christian Federation in a letter to Mr. Wishard, dated April 28, 1924. Pp. 15. (ms.)

Private scrapbook kept by Luther D. Wishard during his service as Inter-collegiate Student Secretary, 1877-1889. Contains many pieces of literature, clippings from newspapers and magazines, letters, local university reports not available in other sources. About 200 pp.

The Religious Societies of Young Men in New England in the 17th and 18th Centuries. A comparison of their rules. Printed Rules suggested by Cotton Mather, 1693, 1706, 1710, and 1724. Others in 1741, 1748, 1757, and 1775. J. T. Bowne, International Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass., 1897. Pp. 99.

Early American Young Men's Societies, 1677-1848. A compilation of information concerning Mather Young Men's Societies in New England, gathered by J. T. Bowne, from 1889-1894. Pp. 30.

Constitution of Y.M.C.A. of University of Virginia. Adopted October 12, 1858, Charlottesville, 1806.

Second Annual Report, Y.M.C.A. of University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1860.

Minutes of Cornell University Christian Association, 1886-90.

Elizabeth Wilson, Historical Files, National Board, Y.W.C.A., New York. Letters, manuscripts and many pieces of literature bearing on Y.W.C.A. work and relation to college Y.M.C.A.

The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History. By Luther D. Wishard, pioneer college secretary of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations. Historical Library of the National Council, Y.M.C.A., New York. Pp. 255. (ms.)

Early History of the College Work, Y.M.C.A., 1858-1885. By Robert Weidensall. Historical Library of the National Council, Y.M.C.A., New York. Pp. 185. (ms.)

A History of The Dartmouth Christian Association. By Charles T. Brewster (1927). Pp. 25. (Mimeographed ms.)

REPORTS OF SECRETARIES AND CONVENTIONS

(a) Annual Reports to the International Committee Y.M.C.A. of the following secretaries for their periods of service: H. E. Brown, J. E. K. Studd, Erskine Uhl, L. D. Wishard; All State Corresponding Secretaries; Thomas K. Cree, R. C. Morse, G. K. Ober, Robert Weidensall, John R. Mott, George T. Coxhead, C. A. Licklider, F. W. Douglas, C. J. Hicks, J. Campbell White, W. A. Hunton and David R. Porter.

(b) Published Reports of Conferences and Conventions of the following Movements:

American Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance for years 1880 to 1894 inclusive.

Canadian Inter-collegiate Missionary Alliance for years 1888-89-91 and 92.

Women's Christian Association Conferences for biennial periods from 1871 to 1889 inclusive.

Conferences of American Committee Y.W.C.A. for years 1886-87-88-89-90.

International Committee of Y.M.C.A. and National Council of Y.M.C.A. 1854 to date.

Student Volunteer Convention Reports, beginning with Cleveland Convention 1891 and going to the Buffalo Convention 1931.

HISTORIES OF STATE STUDENT Y.M.C.A. WORK

(Prepared at the request of the author)

For Washington, by George B. Cole. Pp. 31. (ms.)

For New York, by D. Windsor Jones. Pp. 7. (ms.)

For Pennsylvania, by L. M. Miller. Pp. 10. (ms.)

For Ohio, by Herbert L. Seamans. Pp. 10. (ms.)

- For Wisconsin, by P. H. McKee. Pp. 3. (MS.)
 For Virginia, by Forrest Brown. Pp. 3. (MS.)
 For Pacific Northwest, by H. W. Stone. Pp. 3. (MS.)
 For North Carolina, by G. C. Huntington. Pp. 3. (MS.)
 For Nebraska, by Charles A. Musselman. Pp. 5. (MS.)

HISTORIES OF LOCAL CHRISTIAN STUDENT SOCIETIES

*(Prepared at the request of the author by the persons whose names
 are given)*

- President John H. McCracken, *Lafayette College*.
 President Henry Louis Smith, *Washington and Lee University*.
 President Alfred Edward Whitford, *Milton College*.
 President W. G. Clippinger, *Otterbein College*.
 President George D. Olds, *Amherst College*.
 President W. A. Miltis, *Hanover College*.
 Professor A. H. Young, *Trinity College*.
 President Julian A. Burruss, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute*.
 August J. McClary, *Union Christian College*.
 Charles G. Butler, *Rutgers College*.
 Charles T. Douds, *Rochester Y.M.C.A.*
 Wayne E. Fitzsimmons, *Lenox College*.
 Dean Frank Dewey, *Grinnell College*.
 Principal G. F. McAllister, *The Collegiate Institute, Mt. Pleasant, N. C.*
 President H. D. Hoover, *Carthage College*.
 John W. Rilling, *Wittenberg College*.
 Rev. W. B. Preston, *Trinity University*.
 Secretary Dennis B. Walsh, *Roanoke College*.
 Miss Doris Denison, *Olivet College*.
 Woodford Patterson, *Cornell University Christian Association*.
 Flora P. Dodge, *Illinois State Normal University*.
 President G. L. Mackintosh, *Wabash College*.
 President Guy E. Maxwell, *Winona State Teachers' College*.
 C. V. Hibbard, *University of Wisconsin*.
 President Charles H. Cooper, *State Teachers' College, Mankato, Minn.*
 President J. C. Brown, *State Teachers' College, St. Cloud, Minn.*
 R. B. MacLeod, *McGill University*.
 President, Charles McKenny, *Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti Mich.*
 Henry Wilson, *University of Illinois*.

- President W. G. Spencer, *Hillsdale College*.
 President Frederick C. Ferry, *Hamilton College*.
 Miss Irene Granville Lehman, *Gettysburg College*.
 William Henry McLean, *DePauw University*.
 President R. Ames Montgomery, *Centre College (Danville, Ky.)*.
 George J. Heidt, *Exec. Sec'y Christian Association, Brown University*.
 President C. F. Ross, *Allegheny College*.
 E. W. Hearne, *State Student Work, Mass. and R. I.*
 P. H. McKee, *History of Student Associations in Wisconsin*.
 Cyrus P. Barnum, *University of Minnesota*.
 R. C. Kantz, *University of Tennessee*.
 R. Malcolm Guess, *University of Mississippi Christian Association*.
 L. A. Coulter, *Beginnings of University of Virginia Y.M.C.A.*
 George P. Cole, *University of Washington Y.M.C.A.*
 Charles A. Musselman, *College Work in Nebraska*.
 G. C. Huntington, *Student Y.M.C.A. Work in North Carolina Colleges*.
 Professor S. W. Parr, *University of Illinois*.
 Professor Ira O. Baker, *University of Illinois*.
Daily Illini (Student newspaper published at the University of Illinois, Friday, May 23, 1923).

SPECIAL STUDIES

(Prepared by divinity and graduate students at Yale University, at request of the author)

- John Dillingham. *Student Religious Attitudes* (1930). Pp. 16. (MS.)
 Melvin H. Harter. *The Religious Attitudes of College Students*. 1928-33. Pp. 44. (MS.)
 W. W. McKee. *Some Evidences of a Student Christian Movement in the South* (1934). Pp. 51. (MS.)
 Donald W. Bailey. *Recent Student Religious Attitudes* (1933). Pp. 34. (MS.)
 Edward G. Carroll. *A Study of the Negro Student Movement: Its History and Present Problems in Negro Higher Education*. Pp. 52. (MS.)
 Esther Temperly. *A History of Religious Activity at Yale College*. 1740-1745. (MS.)
 Hayes Beall. *The Student Christian Movement and Present Day Prophetic Leaders and Tendencies* (1933). Pp. 37. (MS.)

SECTION III

BOOKS

- Baldwin, Alice M. *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution*. The Duke University Press, 1928. Pp. 222.
- British College Christian Union. A handbook. London, 1898. Pp. 190.
- Bruce, Philip Alexander. *History of the University of Virginia*. Five volumes. New York, 1918. Vol. II, pp. 395; Vol. III, pp. 403.
- Chase, F. *History of Dartmouth College*. Vol. 1, Cambridge, 1891. Pp. 682.
- Cleaveland, Nehemiah. *History of Bowdoin College from 1806 to 1879*. Edited and completed by Alpheus Spring Packard. Boston, 1882. Pp. 933.
- Collins, Varnum L. *Princeton*. New York, 1914. Pp. 416.
- Demarest, William H. S. *History of Rutgers College, 1766-1924*. Princeton, N. J. Pp. 570.
- Dexter, Franklin Bowditch, M.A. *Yale Biographies and Annals, 1701-45*. New York, 1885. Pp. 788.
- Doggett, L. L. *History of the Y.M.C.A.* Vol. I, 1896, pp. 191; Vol. II, 1922, pp. 199.
- Doggett, L. L. *Robert McBurney*. Cleveland, 1902. Pp. 280.
- Drummond, Henry. *Dwight L. Moody*. New York, 1900. Pp. 125.
- Durfee, Calvin Rev. *History of Williams College*, 1860. Pp. 432.
- Dwight, Theodore. *President Dwight's Decision on Questions Discussed by the Senior Class of Yale College in 1813 and 1814*. Boston, 1833. Pp. 348.
- Dwight, Timothy. *Memories of Yale Life and Men, 1845-1899*. New York, 1903. Pp. 500.
- Edwards, Jonathan. *The Life of Rev. David Brainerd*. London, 1818. Pp. 500.
- Emery, Samuel Hopkins. *The Ministry of Taunton*. Boston, 1853. Vol. 2.
- Erdman, Charles R. D. L. *Moody, His Message for Today*. New York, 1928. Pp. 156.
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